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THE LEBANON:

(Mount Souria.)

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A HISTORY AND A DIARY.

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BY

DAVID URQUHART,

AUTHOR OF
"THE SPIRIT OF THE EAST," "THE PILLARS OF HERCULES,"
"TURKEY AND ITS RESOURCES," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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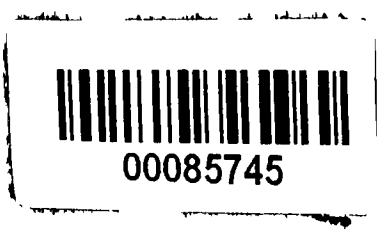

CONTENTS.

In these Volumes will be found:

How a Primitive Race, under the name of Sourians, Itureans, Mirdites, and Moarni, have maintained themselves in the Lebanon, from the first peopling of the globe down to the present day.

How, from hatred to the Byzantine Empire, which had betrayed them to the Mussulmans, they admitted a belief of the Impersonation of the Deity, hateful alike to Christians and Mussulmans; that of Ismaëlians and Durzi.

How, on the arrival of the Crusaders, the religious animosities and conversions ceased, by their replacing their Christian prince by a family of strangers and Mussulmans.

How that family, the Tenhouk, having

been treacherously cut off by the Crusaders, a second line was elected, the Maan; and five centuries later, a third line was elected, the Shaab, being equally strangers and Mussulmans. So that, during these 800 years, political division and religious animosity remained unknown.

How Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, subverted the institutions and the liberties of the Lebanon, by constraining Beshir Shaab, Emir of the Lebanon, to become a Christian.

How the Four Powers, who signed the treaty of July, 1840, called upon the people of the Lebanon to upset their Emir.

How the Five Powers, who signed the treaty of July, 1841, by dividing the Mountain into two governments of Druzes and Maronites, and imposing ruinous duties upon exportation, have brought upon it, in the course of ten years, four civil wars.

How the Four Powers commenced their work on the pretext of excluding French influence, and the Five Powers completed it by causing the country to be occupied by French troops.

How the Lebanon having been withdrawn from an existence of insignificance, tranquillity, and prosperity, is now raised to a station of highest importance in the affairs of mankind: affording to Russia a pivot on the south for the upturning of the Ottoman Empire, and to France an Algeria on the east of the Mediterranean, so as to envelope Egypt, and furnish a basis for military and naval operations against India.

These Volumes consist of notes taken on the spot, in the years 1849 and 1850. They are now printed unchanged, as testimony of what was then observed, and then predicted.

To preserve this rule unchanged, the author has abstained from either altering or suppressing what he then wrote in reference to the derivation of Races, and the cosmogony of the globe, which otherwise he might have desired to modify and extend.

He had not at that time discovered in the great book of the Himalaya, the real Eden of all the Races of the Earth. He has, therefore, to request the reader, curious in such matters, to accept what is here stated on the subject of the Deluge, and the

Antediluvian World, as merely a first stage in the journey; should he be induced hereafter to accompany the author to the "Roof of the World," and the Cradle of the Human Race.

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ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 37, line 12, *for* "the year of the battle of Hastings," *read* "twenty years after the battle of Hastings."

„ 178, line 11, *for* "the Monophysites were called Jacobites from their founder," *read* "the Monophysite monks of Syria were called," &c.

„ 178, line 27, *for* "the Dictionary of Assemann," *read* "the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemann."

„ 179, line 1, *for* "John Maro, elected Patriarch of Antioch, A. D. 673," *read* "686."

HISTORY OF THE LEBANON.

CHAPTER I.

STRUCTURE OF THE MOUNTAIN—PRODUCE—INDUSTRY—AND SYSTEM OF EXCHANGE.

ELSEWHERE man has cultivated the Land: in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the produce: here it is the soil. Man collects and carries to the hollow of the rock the vegetable mould; then hedges round with stones his wells of cunning fertility to conceal and increase them. From below you gaze upwards at barrenness: from above you look down on an arabesque of verdure: the rosy hues of the fresh turned furrows, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the puckerings, grey and brown, of layers of limestone cast up on end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their arable land formed on the central range.

The rest of the Lebanon is formed of horizontally lying strata. The masses break off rectangularly, presenting wall-like abutments of interminable extent and endless variety. Taluses have been accu-

mulated below them, as at the base of ruined walls. Those banks and slopes, the faces of the precipices, and the hollows of the watercourse, are all held up by low walls five to seven feet high, the terraces seven to eight feet wide. These lines, stretching indefinitely, or winding round the valleys and sinuosities of the soil, appear, when looked down upon from the peaks, as furrows, or as flights of steps, or as the seats of an amphitheatre. Here they seem an embroidery—there as the concentric lines of an engraving: revealing every happy fold of the earth, and shadowing forth each bold projection of the rocks. Moving along the hollows of the valleys, the traveller or invader finds himself encased in a labyrinth of fortress, each evolution of which is crested by inaccessible heights, fringed with pines, and crowned with snow.

The soil so supported bears no crops, being left for the mulberry, the olive and the vine to feed upon. It is industriously tilled with the spade or plough. The cattle, adapted to their work, are scarcely larger than goats, and can turn in the narrow spaces with their toy-like ploughs, and scramble with them over the rocks. Each village has its cattle, and its flocks of sheep and goats, which are sent to the uncultivated regions in spring and summer, and brought to be fattened in the autumn on the second crop of mulberry leaves. Grapes are abundant and excellent, giving besides the fruit, wine, raisins, and dibs (the honey of grapes). The last is an important article of food. The olives are

sufficient for food, both in the shape of preserved olives and of oil, and they also furnish light. They have vegetables, tobacco, and cotton enough for their consumption. The mountain furnishes trees for timber and fuel, stone and lime for building, clay for pottery, and flints for muskets. Thus every house has sheep, cattle, orchards, gardens, vineyards, and, if not fields, at least furrows. In each establishment there is an oil-press and a plough, a wine-press and a shepherd's crook, a pruning-hook and a shuttle, a spindle and a spade, a Dibs vat in the rock and a copper dyeing-vat in the kitchen. Nor are the sabre and the musket wanting. Thus they possess within themselves means of independence such as are to be found in no other community on earth; and thence this Society has possessed the durability of the rocks which shelter them. Yet are they, of all people upon earth, the most dependent upon external things. They have no bread—they must sell their silk to buy it.

The seed of the worm is hatched by the women in their breasts, and the worms are fed in the cottages. The gathering of the leaves and the winding of the silk occupy in Midsummer the whole population.

The tilling of the terraces, the repairing of the walls, the management of the watercourses, are the important out-door occupations of the rest of the year. The women spin the raw silk that remains, and it forms a considerable portion of their clothing.

Hence has sprung up an industry, not that of factories, of which certain spots arrogate the exercise, and a few capitalists absorb the profits — not that which divides men from the soil and so severs the triple cord; but one carried on by the fireside, under the shade of the vine, along the lanes, one which without interrupting domestic avocations, but only filling up the moments of leisure, clothes the family without cost, and preserves to it its simple manners. The people were distinguished by their luxurious attire. Gold and silver tissues were worn by the poorest classes; and the remnants which still subsist of their picturesque costume is distinguished by its taste, original forms, and the pleasing mixtures of colouring, in the dyeing of which they excel.

The root of the system is the mulberry. It furnished the bread, paid the taxes, clothed the people, occupied the family, kept alive the love of labour, the taste of art, the elegance of forms, conferred independence of character, and maintained the freshness of busy life among rugged precipices, while the plains below lay waste and silent; picturesque prosperity filled with admiration the stranger attracted to the Lebanon by the shadows of its still unbowed magnificence, and the echo of its long renown.

These habits, still extant, and the enormous amount of labour during successive ages required to pile up these terraces, are evidences of a continuity of well-being from the earliest times, and the conse-

quent continuity of system adapted to it. That system was liberty of trade and exchange.

The culture of silk was brought from China in the time of Justinian, who introduced it at Tripoli. But the terraces of the Lebanon, which then received the mulberry, were not constructed for that tree. Before its introduction the cities of Eden, Hadeth and Dam were fed. How, the Prophets and the terraces themselves inform us. Olive trees, though few, are scattered over the terraces both high and low, and the trees are of much older date than the time of Justinian. A plantation of them at Tripoli, attributed to that Emperor, are *young trees* compared with those of the Lebanon.

The Olive is the physical document of history. The method by which it repairs the natural decay of its wood induces a change of form in which, with experience, may be read the age of a tree as easily as that of a man, putting centuries for years. It is of so slow a growth that it never has been planted by a people that has been grasping, in times that were insecure, or under a system that was ignoble. The periods of such plantations are therefore very rare, and their eras not difficult to ascertain. The oldest traces that remain resemble fragments of ruined walls with shrubs sticking upon them—such may be seen in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. Those of the Lebanon belong to the second great period of plantation, which cannot be nearer to us than 3000 years. The greatness of human society is pre-historic.

These vegetable records show that the terraces existed in the Lebanon in the seventh century, such as now they exist. The people of the Lebanon had therefore then some other produce instead of silk to exchange for grain. By olives alone this exchange could not have been effected; we must look for other produce as well, or for a greater relative value in the articles still produced.

The Vines might supply wine and dried fruit, but could not have sufficed for their necessity, that produce not being peculiar to the Lebanon. Before the common use of sugar, and the enormous supply poured in from the New World, saccharine substances were scarce, and consequently highly prized and dearly paid—such was the "Honey of Grapes." Jacob is careful to select the Dibs* to send to Joseph. Proof of the vast extent of this production in the remotest ages is afforded by the vats cut in the rock all over the country.

The third resource was in the Musical Instruments, the carving in cedar, sycamore,† and Tyrian ivory, so often referred to by the Prophets.

The vines and olives must have been rapidly displaced by the mulberry, for two reasons: the first, the enormous price of silk; the second, the facility of irrigating the terraces, which was no advantage in the culture of vines and olives. In the last

* Our version renders this word "Honey." Genesis xliii. 11.

† This tree must not be confounded with that which in England bears the same name.

century, the people of the Lebanon was wholly a proprietory people; so that there was no fictitious obstruction to prevent them from at once turning their industry into a new and more profitable channel. Nor was there any fiscal obstruction, as in modern times; the Lebanon never had its freedom of exchange interfered with. The customs of Syria were famed at the time of Justinian. The importance acquired by the cities of that coast, while so many signs of decay were exhibiting themselves in the other portions of the empire, can only be attributed to the introduction of the Chinese tissue, which came to replace the glass and the dyes of Tyre, and to revive the activity of the ancient Phœnicians on the mountains, which had witnessed their rise and greatness.

The Lebanon was included in, not subjected to, the Byzantine Empire, which, following the principles of Rome, admitted no duties whatever on commerce into its treasury.*

After the division of the Empire, in consequence of the facilities which the Straits of Constantinople afforded, commerce was interfered with; but it is recorded of the very Emperor who introduced the silkworm into the Lebanon, that he restored freedom of trade. Had it been the system of the Empire to tax commerce, it would not have been very easy

* The Protorium, or Voctigal, was paid into the municipal treasury, and devoted to the repair of roads, bridges, and harbours.

to have caused the inhabitants of the Lebanon to submit to it. They soon afterwards, besides, acquired two ports of their own—Gebail and Patroun.

The Lebanon never was included in the Empire of the Arabs; and, if it had been, their system resembled that of Byzantium and Rome, and, indeed, no other had at that time been known in the world.

Of the Crusaders, the same may be said. They did not conquer the Lebanon; and, if they had, they would not have dreamt of taxing commerce. There were duties on entering the towns introduced under the Ayoubites; but the consistency which was given to the small kingdom of Jerusalem by Baldwin the Second has been attributed to the measures adopted by him, and are worthy of the imitation of the Turkish Government to-day, for they meet directly all the evils of the country. He granted the property of the land to any one who had occupied it and cultivated it for a year, and he abolished the duties on articles of consumption on entering the towns. The only tax which entered his treasury was the tenths.

To the Crusaders succeeded Islam. The mountain was subjugated by the Ottomans under Selim the First with the rest of Syria; but it was not until the reign of Murad the Third that the direct authority of the Porte was there established.

The three systems of the Greeks, the Crusaders, and Islam all coincided in this respect. The utmost

duty ever imposed was three per cent. When, at a recent period, monopolies were introduced into the Ottoman Empire, the Lebanon again remained free from them, and the customs duty, by the deterioration of the coin, was reduced to one and one-and-a-half per cent.

Thus the silk of Lebanon enjoyed perfect immunity from the period of Justinian down to the expulsion of the Egyptian troops and the restoration of Syria in 1840 to the authority of the Porte.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEOPLE BY WHICH IT IS INHABITED AND THEIR NAME.

UNTIL England and France, in the middle of the 19th century, quarrelled about the limits of a Syrian Province, and the succession of a Turkish Pasha, the Lebanon knew no law save its own custom; and, like the Basques, its people remained a primordial society. The waves of conquest which successively flowed over Palestine, encircled but never rose over the Lebanon. Its children looked down on events in their course, races in their toil, and ignored history by defying fortune. The Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Persian, the Roman, and the Arab, have recorded their advent only with the chisel* on its rocks. The Mede, the Persian, the Philistine, the Jew, the Greek, the Turkman, the Crusader, the Tartar, and the Ottoman, have not done even so much. Its tongue till yesterday was that which interprets the names that have descended to us from antediluvian times. On its borders tradition has placed the tomb of Adam; it claims to hold the ashes of the second peopler of the earth.†

* The Sculptures at Nahar El Kelb.

† Noah's tomb is shewn near Zachli, on the side of the Lebanon, overlooking the Bkaa, and just where we might suppose the

What the Patriarchs spoke of as things of "ancient days," are still here to be found as familiar practice, and the metaphors of the Prophets are still illustrated in the life and customs of its people:*

Here may be seen the rudiment of the Pyramid,† and the element of the calculations carried by the Etruscans to the west.‡

Ark to have been left aground by the subsiding waters. I cannot here stop to enter into the matter; but the Lebanon is Ararat. The Ark was built at Bir, or in its vicinity. What could take it to the north? The current, from whichever course the waters rose, must have oscillated between East and West. From Ararat the dove must have gone an equally incomprehensible distance to get olive leaves, and Noah must have travelled an equally incomprehensible distance before planting his vineyards.

* The "Exalted Horn" is still the wonderful appendage of the married woman. It cannot be seen without carrying the conviction that it is a practice which ascends to the remotest antiquity, and is therefore an evidence of the unbroken continuity of the people. But I have found a singular confirmation in two curious bronzes found in one of those ancient Sarcophogi cut into the rock of which such numbers are scattered over the Lebanon. The Horn is on the head of a woman whose costume is but a cord round the loins.

† Volney first observed the cubes superimposed which are used as tombs. They present the very diagram of Lepsius in explaining his theory of the Pyramids.

‡ The carat, or division by 24 in Europe, preserved in the testing of the precious metal, the weighing of gems, and the division of ship property, is in the Lebanon in common use. A man sells, not this or that field, or so many acres, but so many carats, *i.e.* of his whole property. The administration of the Lebanon itself is held to be a carat or perfect unity, and its 24 parts are always imagined.

The schisms of Islam, the heresies of the Church, Fire-worship and Sabæism have here left their traces, and had history become the prey of moths, the Lebanon, as page after page was turned over, would reveal to the human mind the series of its own bewilderments. But the very reason why creeds were preserved was that races did not enter. The relics are of weakness that was protected, not of conquests that had been achieved.

It was after the Druze religion was extinguished in Egypt that it appeared in Lebanon, and the mysteries of the Assassins, which Alamoot knows no more, survive in the orgies of the Nosaïri.

Nowhere is there record of its subjugation. Its monuments, often on the grandest scale, are referable only to the earliest periods, and present nothing to which Egypt, Greece, or Rome can lay claim. Their institutions have lasted like the piles of Baalbeck: up to the year 1840, the labour of man was free as when Adam delved and Eve span.

The sight of the mountain and its people at once suggested the idea that no foreign race at any period had established itself in Lebanon. When I came to examine, I found that historical evidence was not wanting, although writers will insist on inventing a people instead of seeing one.*

* Chelibi Effendi, followed by D'Herbelot, peoples the Lebanon with Monophysites expelled from the lowlands of Syria. Aboul Faradi peoples it with Roman soldiers, called by the Syrians "Audacious;" with whom Michael the Syrian is pleased to

To a people its name is what title-deeds are to a landed proprietor. The name of Lebanon is a forgery. The true name—the name given by the people to themselves—is SUR. The race is the Surian—the *Σύροι* of the Greek, and Syrian of modern tongues. The mountain is GEBEL SURIA. Lebanon is a foreign and a descriptive term: it means "white," and is Hebrew. As it is the name they both use and cling to to-day—repudiating for their mountain that of Lebanon, and for themselves that of Arab—so was it the name it bore in the time of Moses.* That the Hebrews should have called it by a name of their own invention shows how strange it was to them. The Jews, 700 years later, did not understand the Syrian tongue.† The Jews wanted no interpreter with the people of Canaan.

The circumstances which show that the Hebrews did not conquer the Lebanon, show likewise that the Canaanites had not conquered the Lebanon. Had the same race occupied the mountain and the plain, or had the Canaanites conquered this mountain, the

exterminate the Mirdites, whom Le Beau brings from the north of Syria; the Emir Hydar, the historian of the Druzes, peoples it with desert tribes from Nejid.

* "And we took at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites the land which was at this side Jordan, from the river of Arnon unto Mount Hermon; (which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion, and the Amorites call it Shenir)."—Deut. iii. 8, 9.

† "Speak unto thy servants in the Syrian language, for we understand it."—Isaiah xxxvi. 11.

defeated and expelled nations would have retreated thither and made there their stand, which they did not, and they too gave to Gebel Suria a name of their own—*Shinir*. The people who, on the shores of the Atlantic, have preserved the names of "Hivite" and "Amonite," and recal the event of their dispersion by "Joshua the robber, the son of Nun," would not have forgotten and abandoned memory and name among inaccessible retreats and mountain fastnesses* overlooking their native land. This is certain; that neither the Canaanites, when pressed by the Hebrews, nor the Hebrews, when pressed in their turn, ever took refuge in the Lebanon; which they must have done had it not been already occupied by a powerful and warlike people.

The Canaanites and Philistines were themselves invaders. The land was occupied before by "giants," that is, great nations; generally known under the name of Anakim, from which the Greek name for "king" is derived. The impress of their character on the early world is not effaced, though the circumstances themselves have long vanished from the memory of man; and to this day we commend a noble and a chivalrous deed by calling it by their

* I found in the Lebanon no less than three villages named *Ai Tat*—the Hittites of Scripture, and a tribe still flourishing in Morocco. The name of a people would not be given to its own villages, but settlements of refugees would naturally be so called.

name.* Avim, Horim, are, besides, Chaldaic words, that is, Syriac.

But the Anakim, whatever they were, when pressed by the Canaanites had not taken refuge in the Lebanon; for if they had, it could not have failed to have been mentioned. We may, therefore, rest assured that they also had been invaders, and equally unsuccessful against the Lebanon as their successors. Perhaps other invasions had preceded this; but, at all events, from the date of the earliest extension of foreign races of which we have records, the Lebanon must have been inhabited by a population equal to its own defence.

It stands to reason that in the mountains will be found the earliest race of any country, and so much the more when in a country such a mountain as the Lebanon is found.

The Assyrian in the eighth century before Christ did penetrate into the Lebanon. To this irruption we owe the first specific notice of its internal state and well-being. They went to attack *cities*, and destroyed them, without, however, being able to hold the land. *Eden* was then of sufficient importance for its fate to be quoted to strike with terror the masters of Jerusalem, yet no Assyrian domination followed that event any more than when, sixteen centuries afterwards, the Arabs took and sacked the adjoining city of Hadesh.

* The word "Hero" ascends to the Horim, through Greek, Etruscan, Phœnician, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldean.

Then followed the Egyptian, the Persian and the Macedonian conquests. At last the Romans came, and this seventh conquest of Judea left the Lebanon as it had found it, a virgin land. The operations of Pompey were confined to the destruction of their *maritime strongholds*. They were a people of builders living in fixed habitations.

At the period of the overthrow of Rome 700 years later, they had occupied again the fortresses from which they had been expelled. When the Roman power was at its acmé, Strabo speaks of the inhabitants of the Lebanon just as a Russian writer might to-day of the Circassians.

"The mountainous country (in the rear of the coast) is inhabited by Itureans and Arabs, all given up to robbery. The inhabitants of the plains are cultivators, and to protect themselves against the mountaineers they have fortified places of natural strength. The inhabitants of the Lebanon have also up in the mountains Sonnan and Bonama, below Bostra and Gigarton, the caverns on the sea coast, and the castle of Theoprosopon."

For the first time they are here called by name, and that is no other than Sourian; Iturea is also the name given by the Romans to the district lying between Anti-lebanon and Damascus, and confining on the Trachonites and the Hauran, which latter the Druzes hold to be their original country. Aturea was the name of the province of Nineveh. In Hebrew and Arabic Athourean stands for Assy-

rian. Xenophon speaks of the Σύροι to the east as well as the west of the Euphrates, and Strabo makes these extend, mingled with the Arabs, from Cilicia to Judea, Phœnicia, and the coast; just as to-day, were there a common name for Nosaïri, Metuali, Druze, and Maronite, it would include the same districts. At one half of the interval between Noah and our own times we find the Lebanon occupied, not by refugees, but by a distinct people; and, in the height of Roman power, in the centre of the Roman Empire—independent.

Maronite, Druze, Nosaïri, and Cadmieh, are that people, and it has dwelt in its present sites from the earliest peopling of the globe.

CHAPTER III.

MILITARY CONFIGURATION AND STRENGTH.

THE Lebanon as limited to-day extends but seventy or eighty miles from the Akkar above Tripoli, to the Gebel Rehan above Tyre. But a much larger tract of country to the north, south, and east belongs to it. The valley of the Orontes, alone separates the chain from Allah Dagh, which joins the Taurus, and closes in Syria to the north. There a people of Lebanon dwell up to this day, and its inhabitants were identified with it in its struggle of five centuries with the Christian Emperors of Constantinople and the Mussulman Califs of Kufa, Bagdad, and Damascus.

The stream of land, the Bkkaa, which divides it on the east from the Anti-Lebanon, and extends eastward and northward till it confines the desert, bordering the district of Hauran, of 4 or 5,000 square miles in extent, is also occupied by the same people, who there dwell in tents. Next comes the volcanic fastness of the Ledja, which it cost Mehemet Ali 10,000 men to subdue. The Nosaïri, a branch of the Druzes, lie to the north of the Maronites; they are again found at the southern extremity of Anti-Lebanon. The Metuali are on the northern frontier of the Bkkaa, at Baalbec, and they occupy the

Beled Bscharré to the south, stretching as far as Acre. The Lebanon thus occupies a wide and varied region, within which are included strongholds and recruiting grounds, and wherein are combined the obstacles which the desert presents to the invasion of disciplined troops, and the strength of military defences against the incursions of the sons of the Hedjaz.

With this extent of territory, and these resources of recruitment or defence, it possessed two no less essential, though negative, securities. Its figure was such as not to impose the necessity of its subjugation on the holders of Syria, and its nature was such as to hold out no temptation to the conqueror of Syria for its possession.

It does not intercept the communications by land or sea of the continents and kingdoms between which it is placed.* Stretching in a double line from north to south, it affords three passages for those who, from the north, would invade Egypt or Judea, or from the south Damascus or Asia Minor. The range is crossed from east to west by two great roads, and the communications of the interior with the sea never suffered interruption.

* In the expedition of Baldwin III. against Bozra, the capital of Upper Arabia, the Crusaders, instead of the direct road from Jerusalem to the East, found it more convenient, both in their advance and their flight, to pass across the Anti-Lebanon, which they never subdued. So in the Greek expedition of the Emperor of Germany and the King of France against Damascus itself, they took the same route.

On the other hand it is a country which can neither be held, attacked nor invested. There are no passes which can be occupied; there is neither a seacoast which can be blockaded, nor a land frontier which can be guarded; for by its extended lines, and the repetition in the Anti-Lebanon of the same circumstances, its borders are out of all proportion to its extent. An invader may any where be suffered to advance without compromising their defence; every terrace is a fortification, and every square yard a bastion. Gunpowder has in some degree impaired these advantages; but when enemies could distinguish each other's countenances as they drew up in battle array, the stones of the loose walls of the terraces were a ready made artillery; the besieged would lose one wall only, to occupy another, and could retreat through a hundred stages, till—one crest lost—they had only to run down the declivity, and recommence the same operation in the succeeding hollow.

The land is so broken that, from camp to camp or town to town, though miles may intervene they can make themselves to be heard; when warriors were summoned or war proclaimed, the criers ascended a neighbouring rock, and the cry taken up and echoed from crest to crest, until, in a few hours, it reached the borders of the land.* The terraces are not

* "When the Emir and the Sheiks had decided on war at Deir el Cammar, a crier ascended, towards the evening, to the tops of the hills and then commenced to cry with a loud voice, "War!

level with the earth, but are built up three or four feet. A gap is left in each, and, when using them as defences, these could be successively closed as they retired out of each covered way.

Where the rocks themselves are cultivated, the stones are, in like manner, gathered out, and piled on the protruding edges, forming a succession of walls, where the defenders could be hid till you look into them. With a resolute population the Lebanon is impervious to any force, however armed, however led, however numerous. Comparing those natural defences with the mountains which are of greatest celebrity, the Caucasus, the Atlas, the Alps, no such combination of obstacles, with absence of tenable positions, will be found. Neither do any of them afford, united, to the same extent, asperity of surface with means of support. At the same time, it is unsuited to that concentration of power at home which is the prelude to every people's fall. The structure, therefore, of this range, coincides, with the appearance of the people in suggesting the idea of one per-

War! Take the musket, take the pistols, noble Sheiks; mount your horses, arm yourselves with the sabre and lance; appear to-morrow at Deir el Cammar. Zeal of God! Zeal of Battle!" This cry, heard from the neighbouring villages, was repeated there, and, as all the country is piles of mountains and deep valleys, this cry reached in a few hours the extreme frontiers. During the silence of the night, the accent of this cry, and the long reverberations of the echoes, joined to the nature of the subject, had something imposing and terrible. In three days fifteen thousand muskets were assembled at Deir el Cammar."—*Volney Voyages*, t. ii. p. 11.

manent race as having occupied it through all time.

Thirty-five centuries ago the Holy Land was in the highest state of prosperity. A then old population cultivated its plains, and lived in cities "fenced to the skies." They must have cultivated every rood of earth; for how otherwise could that enormous population have been supported, exceeding in numbers ten times its inhabitants to-day.*

The Hebrews entered to exterminate and occupy. The Lebanon, however, arrested the sword of Judah, which the walls of Jericho could not stay. At the source of history, in the most extraordinary of invasions, we find the Lebanon remaining alone "mistress of herself."†

* Syria, including Damascus and Aleppo, contains 3,000,000; but Syria proper cannot have more than 1,500,000. The Jews were 3,000,000 when they entered, (602,730 fighting men. Num. xxvi. 51.)

† Sousia had never been mistress of herself, except perhaps in the heroic ages.—*Strabo.*

The province of Sousia bore the same name as the Lebanon—Iturea.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ITUREANS, UNDER THE NAME OF MIRDITES, ERECT THEMSELVES INTO A PRINCIPALITY, AND THEN A PATRIARCHATE, UNDER THAT OF MARONITES.

THE Persians had overcome Syria. The Empire oscillated between paroxysms of courage and despair. The unaccommodating spirit of the Itureans alike defied the enemies and the orders of the Emperor. Chosroes II. had made Tripoli a place of arms, and tempted by the richness of a region, then the centre of the culture of the precious fibre from China, sought to extend his dominion. Immediately above Tripoli are to be found the strongest positions, and the densest population. Hadeth, which soon after stood a siege of seven years, Bischarré, not inferior to it, Eden and Dam, all overlooked the valley of the Cadesha, passing downwards from the Cedars to the sea, and were almost within hail of each other.

Art and industry, then doubtless as now, had completed the intention of nature where she seemed already to have exhausted her ingenuity to combine strength and fertility, and to accumulate, on the smallest space, defenders and defences.

The Persians had struck some chord in the breast

of the mountain, which had never before vibrated. Perchance they laid axe to the "Cedars of God." Who can tell where the train was laid, or how? The explosion came; the Persians discomfitted, were pursued to the coast. The torrent of armed men which the Lebanon had hitherto held, she now let loose. A new people appeared, or a very old one re-appeared, on that stage which the world has appropriated to tragedy—the land of Canaan.

The appearance they made was not such as belongs to the incursions of a nomade people, nor to the expeditions of a marauding one. They evince a constituted and a formal society; that character is substantiated, on the one hand, by the commanding part which they will be seen to play in the contentions of the greatest empires in the succeeding centuries, and, on the other, by the slender amount of their numbers. They are recorded as marching under Princes whose titles can be traced amongst no other race, Assieh* and Dalkieh. As we depend entirely on incidental notices in foreign writers, in an age that was not literary, and these belonging to races animated with hatred to the people of the Lebanon, we are without the means of knowing whether these Princes, and the constitution which they represented, were of early date or recent creation. We may infer the former from antecedent

* This term the ethnographer and philologist will doubtless associate with the Assas and Assad of the Hindus and Scandinavians, and the dominant tribes of early Hindostan.

circumstances, and the peculiarity of title. What we positively know is this:—that, on the expulsion of the Persians, the Prince by whom they were led was named Joseph, and that the ancient halls of Byblos became his court, which recovered its Scriptural name of Gebaïl on receiving its ancient lords. Beside the colossal blocks of its now ruined towers, the masonry of Etruria, Greece, and Rome sinks into insignificance;* to find a Western parallel for it, we must travel back to the grander and ignored periods, of which such records only remain as those which stand on Salisbury plain.

With Joseph a second Prince was afterwards associated, Kesr (Cosroës), from whom the province of Kesroan derives its name.

Their successor was Job, who consolidated the power of his people on its new basis, extending his sway over the maritime border, and along the valley of the Jordan, down to the lake Tiberias.

The difficulty in the identification of this people arises, not merely from the absence of native annals and annalists, but also from the change of name at

* There are single stones in the wall twenty feet long. They belong to an earlier structure, but the present ruin is of the second period of this people. The Crusaders, Saracens, and Turks never hewed such blocks. Nor could it have been an object to any of them to strengthen this point. It does not serve to control the Lebanon, but for the Lebanon it is most essential as affording communication with the sea. The harbour is now filled up. The stones of the Phœnician ruins are dwarfs to those of Gebail.

various periods as given to them by foreigners. At and from the period at which we are now arrived, they are called Mrad and Mirdite, which is the same word, according to its Syriac or its Greek form. This name was subsequently restricted to the people of the Lebanon, but it was, when first introduced, the name of a Faction. In the year rendered memorable by the birth of Islam, A.D. 622, the people of Syria were divided into "Marad" and "Melekite." Marad meant rebel or marauder; a term which the Crusaders imported into Europe.* In antithesis stood Melekite, or loyalist, derived from Melek, King. In those times and countries religious doctrines were mixed up in every political contest, and arms decided the fate of every polemical schism. The rebellious character of the mountain, however, appears to have been created rather by the relations of the Empire with Persia than by any attempt to impose upon the mountaineers, who professed the orthodox belief in the two natures, the Monothelite and Monophysite heresies, then in favour at Constantinople. Their creed had not conformed to that of the Eastern Church. Connected with it by their general faith and their political interests, no administrative relationship bound them to the Empire. The Emperor had neither afforded them support as allies, nor as Suzerain invested their Princes; they had worked their own way, chosen their own chiefs;

* Our philologists are content to derive it from the Count de Mérode of the Thirty Years War!

and the Empire, which did not acknowledge them, styled and treated them as rebels. · The religious disassociation with Constantinople, together with the political importance which this people had now achieved, brought about the institution of a Patriarch; from which time we have a consecutive ecclesiastical history, and therein complete evidence of an independent political existence. The first election was made by a General Council, with no foreign investiture. The choice fell upon a monk, named John, from the convent of St. Maron, who was thence called John the Moarni, (John the Maronite). Petroun was selected for the seat of the Patriarchate. The jurisdiction extended over the original twenty-four Carats or Mucatas, of the Lebanon.

The convent of Maron, on the Orontes, had been founded by a saint of that name in the fifth century. During the Homousian controversy, it became the centre and the refuge of the orthodox belief; so that the name of Maron served as a distinguishing epithet for those opposed to the Greek creed. It naturally passed into the designation of the people on the selection of a Maronite, that is, a member of the convent of Maron, as first Patriarch of the Mirdites. At that time the terms Mrad, Mirdite, and Moarni were equally applied to the Sourians: the religious one, Maronite, has alone survived in the Lebanon; the political one, Mirdite, is only borne by an expatriated fragment on the Adriatic;

the ethnographic one, Sourian, is only whispered among themselves to some curious stranger; when the rare incident occurs of the presence of a stranger, who takes interest in them as men, and not in their factions, their schisms, their passions, and their crimes.

CHAPTER V.

THE MIRDITES INTERPOSE BETWEEN THE CALIPHATE AND THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE, AND ARE BETRAYED.

UNDER Elias, the successor of Job, and who was styled Emir, the relations with the Empire were changed. Heraclius had beaten the Persians who, menaced by the Saracens, withdrew from a country now threatened by their advance, and again overshadowed though not protected by the Roman banner. Elias joined the Greek army before the disastrous battle of Emessa, and if Syria was then lost to Heraclius, nevertheless Elias retained Gebaïl.

The Emir Jussef, not only retained but extended the possessions of his predecessor. His son Emir John, urged the Emperor by representation, as well as by example—for he harassed the Mussulmans even under the walls of Jerusalem and Damascus—to undertake the re-conquest of Syria.

Aroused by such audacity, the Caliph Moawiyah dispatched a large army into the Lebanon. We hear of no great battle fought. The operations, however, continued during seven years. They did penetrate to the roots of the Cedars, for it was on the siege of Hadeth that their efforts were concen-

trated. Each winter they retired, returning in the spring. In the seventh year they took and rased it. The Mirdites had sent appeal upon appeal to Constantinople, offering unconditional submission, and promising to accept as Prince any officer of the Empire. But the Emperor was bent on conciliating, not disabling, his foe. After the fall of Hadeth, and the devastation of the country, the Mirdites were considered subdued, and the Caliph could fearlessly prosecute his plans against Constantinople. Whilst Moawiyah was only governor of Syria, he had prepared in the Port of Tripoli an expedition against Constantinople, which was frustrated by the conflagration in the harbour of the fleet, and with it of the arsenal.* This feat was accomplished by two Mirdites, one of whom afterwards saved the Emperor Constantine IV. in a sea-fight, off the coast of Lycia. To another, named Callinicus, a carpenter of Baalbec, the Empire owed, about this time, the invention of the "Greek fire," to which its preservation for six centuries has been ascribed.

The siege of Constantinople, like that of Hadeth, was persevered in for seven years, when, without apparent cause, the Saracen army disbanded. This event was followed by a treaty still more extraordinary. The Saracens had suffered no defeat on land or sea; no fleets issuing from the Bos-

* From this event Lord Byron took the main incident of the Giaour.

phorus had appeared on the coast of Syria, no armies had crossed the Taurus, taken Damascus, or invested Bagdad, yet the Caliph consented to pay tribute! The world was astonished; the barbarian hordes of the north, the distant princes of Italy hastened to make submission to an Emperor who seemed to have restored the greatness of the first Constantine, and to have bridled a power which had filled Asia and Africa with its arms—Europe with its name.

Before the Seven Hills could have been encircled with Arab tents, or the Golden Horn pressed by Saracenic keels the resources of the Empire must have been exhausted. The key to the enigma must be sought elsewhere. A Mussulman army had been cut to pieces near Gebaïl and four thousand Mussulmans had been made prisoners by the Moarni. Thus is explained the retreat of the Caliph, and the treaty of the Emperor. The Moarni had recovered from their defeats, although these had been followed by internal dissensions, in the course of which the Emir Simeon was excommunicated by the Patriarch for admitting Saracens and Greeks into the Lebanon. Having repelled three attacks simultaneously made on their chief places, they had followed up their victories by descending into the plain; and after annihilating the Saracen army the whole of Syria was again exposed to their incursions. The strong mountainous regions round Syria, and which intercept, on one hand its communications

with Asia Minor, and through the Hauran with Egypt and Arabia on the other, were then occupied by warlike Christian tribes (many of them of the same blood as the Moarni) and as yet the Arabic tongue had penetrated into none of these. It may be easily understood how such an event should suddenly change the scales between the two Empires, although the historian may have disregarded it as an event, or explained it as a fable. Could the Caliph have purchased the quiescence of the people of the Lebanon whom he could not restrain, the money would have been paid directly, instead of being transmitted to Constantinople in guise of tribute to purchase the good offices of the Emperor.

The peace thus obtained was for thirty years. The Moarni do not appear to have molested the Mussulmans during the short period that elapsed till the death of Constantine. He was succeeded by his son Justinian II., while Moawiyah also dying was succeeded by his son Yezid. The Caliphate was however torn by factions, and three competitors arose, Mochtar, Abdallah, and Saïd, who held out in Persia, Arabia, and Syria. John II. Emir of the Moarni, seized this occasion to commence a war of surprise and rapine, which now became the normal condition of Syria; carrying off flocks and people, beating considerable bodies of troops not only within the range of the mountain, but on the very borders of Egypt. Justinian thus encouraged broke the treaty made by his father; but as blind to the Le-

banon in its struggle with the Saracens, as Napoleon to the Black Sea, in his war with Russia, the Imperial Court would not strike where its enemy was most vulnerable. The Byzantine troops were sent through Asia Minor to the far East not to make war, but to commit excesses, and while they were toiling around and beyond the Caspian, Abdul Malek, the then Caliph, recovered the cities he had lost, and restored his power in Syria. The Greek Emperor was delighted to exchange a doubtful contest for a beneficial peace, purchased at the cheap rate of an act of treachery, and on the condition of relieving the Caliph from the incursions of the Marades, secured a *daily* tribute of 1000 pieces of gold, 1000 horses and 1000 slaves !*

This compact was of course secret. The war continued in appearance. The patrician Leontias entered Syria with a detachment of his army and marched to the Lebanon, where his arrival filled with joy the Mirdites, who had so long implored for aid in vain. Leontias brought letters of congratulation, and rich presents for their Prince. The Prince and the people overjoyed at being at length recognized by the Empire, now indulged in the prospect of the speedy expulsion of the Mussulmans from Syria. The Prince assembled the chiefs at a banquet at Gebaïl, when the troops of Leontias

* Writers have found it so difficult to credit a tribute regulated by the day, that they have fallen on the happy expedient of substituting "week"!—See Ockley, p. 446, Bohn's Edition.

at a given signal fell upon and massacred them. Leontias then succeeded in getting the affairs into his hands, named Simeon, nephew of the slaughtered Prince in his stead, and by money, intrigue, and violence carried into effect his master's wishes, exhibiting a zeal for the Caliphate, which might have shamed its own faithful servants. The Caliph, if no match for the Maronites, was quite equal to the Greek. He had fixed the periods of payment for his tribute at the shortest legal term, twenty-four hours; having thus adapted so closely remuneration to service, he had to apprehend no remissness, no delay, and no half measures. The most warlike of the nation were removed to Asia Minor and Roumelia. On the borders of the Lake of Scodra, on the Adriatic, I have visited a people still called Mirdites. They are several thousand strong. They indeed know not their origin, and could not explain their name. Though surrounded by Greeks, they belong to the Latin church, and they still wear the Maronite colours, blue and red.

An irremediable wound was inflicted on the Empire, by this betrayal and dispersion of the defenders of the frontier provinces on the side of Syria. The Mussulmans had become masters of all the cities from Mopsuesta in Cilicia, to the lesser Armenia: but exhausted by the excursions of the Marades had abandoned them, and these countries having become a desert served as the most effectual barriers of the empire. So soon as the Maronites were broken, the

Saracens re-established themselves throughout the whole of the northern district, and the heights of Amaus and the Taurus served them as a fortress, whence to assail Asia Minor and desolate the centre province of the empire.*

The dispersion was followed by a famine in Syria, a fatal blow to a population surrounded by foes, and at no time able to produce more than a small portion of their own food. From this time till the Crusades the Mirditęs are unheard of, and finally disappear to their very traces; as on their subsequent unexpected reappearance, it is under another name.

* Le Beau, Hist. T. xii. p. 146.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DRUZE RELIGION.

PASSING over four centuries in silence, we arrive at a period in the history of the mountain, on which it is necessary for a moment to pause.

When, in the history of any country, we come to the point at which a new religion is introduced, the announcement can be succinctly made, because the religion being known, so are the circumstances which attended its introduction. Not so when the religion is itself unknown, and must consequently have been misrepresented; when the circumstances of the country are unknown, and must also, therefore, have been misrepresented.

If I have succeeded in showing that in the Lebanon existed one people, and that a Christian one, I shall have gone a great way to remove a false impression existing in reference to the Druzes, namely, that their faith is Mussulman; for had it been a schism of Islam, it must have been preached to Mussulmans, or it must have been introduced by conquerors.

I have mentioned the internal dissensions that arose on the occasion of the introduction of some Mussulmans and some Greeks, by the Emir Simeon

and his consequent excommunication. Every Prince, on his accession, was required to take an oath that none should be admitted; and the Patriarch, in like manner, was bound by oath to excommunicate the Prince who should attempt it. The Marada were in their mountain as a besieged garrison, and to admit a stranger was treason; for it was to admit an enemy.

Four centuries all but six years had indeed elasped between the dispersion under Justinian, and the introduction of the Druze doctrines; the one having happened in A.D. 694, and the other in A.D. 1088, the year of the battle of Hastings. It is incumbent upon me to show that the Marada had not been exterminated by the disasters which had overtaken them, and their place supplied, as foreign writers would make out, by strangers and refugees.

Of the four intervening centuries, two present external circumstances, identical with those which preceded them, balanced fortunes of Byzantium and the Caliphate. Then for a time the Caliphate prevailed. But in the tenth century it lost its ground, and the maritime border was overrun with the greatest facility by Constantine VII.; conclusive evidence that the mountain was not at that time in possession of the Mussulmans. But if the Lebanon was not in their possession, then must it have been entirely closed against them.* An old ecclesiastical

* The Emperor Zimces in his letter to the King of Armenia says, that the inhabitants of the Lebanon had submitted to him.

writer of the Maronites says, that from the wars of Constantine VII. to the arrival of the Crusaders, "the Marada were tranquil in their mountains and governed by their Emirs."* No Mussulman writer mentions the Lebanon either as subdued, colonized or converted. No ruin of a mosque exists save one in Kesroan, where a tribe of Mussulman refugees was introduced in the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the distribution of Syria among the Ayoubite princes on the death of Saladin, no less than fifteen principalities are enumerated, independently of Jerusalem and Damascus, but no mention is made of the Lebanon. And, finally, after the disastrous defeat incurred by the Saracens from the Duke of Saxony, on the banks of the Eleutherus, the broken Mussulmans could find no refuge nearer than Jerusalem and Damascus.

In the third century of Islam, the same intellectual movement appeared amongst the followers of the Koran, as in the eighth century after Christ amongst the Christians. Islam was particularly a religion of injunction—it forbade to inquire into abstruse matters, it enjoined precept, and by precept forbade disquisition. Mahomet places in his hell those who "wandered in wordy disputations with the fallacious reasoners." The mere mention of the names of the different sects, which finally have settled into the Shiite section of Islam, will

* Syrian MS. in possession of Bishop Paul, Vicar-General, from which I have derived great assistance in this compilation.

suffice to show the extent and the character of this perversion.

Teschby. Resemblance of God and his creatures; having attributes of essence.

Tatil. God without attributes.

Djahmis. Not having attributes of action.

Kudr. Power, free-will, things created entire, or within themselves determining their events.

Tawakkouf. The predestination of the Imamship. Hence the

Rafedhis.

Matazalis. Power of man over his actions. God insensible.

Tadjism. God possessed of a body. Hence the

Keramis, Karmates (H. H. 264), or Ismaëlis (seven Imams); named also Batenis or the "interior sense."*

Tawil, or allegorical interpretation. Hence the Fatimites; but of which the Druzes.

These various sects all coincide in this, that they wove into their mystic system the Words, Images, Parables, Injunctions, Commandments, Prayers and Doctrines of the Pentateuch, the Gospel, and the Koran. The Ismaelians and the Druzes surpassed the rest. They organized a system of proselytism which has never been equalled. The Daïs or missionaries were to be all things to all men in the sense of deception: Shiah with the Shiite, Suni with the Suni,

* From Batn, "belly," generally used as implying concealment.

Christian with the Christian, Jew with the Jew, Magian with the Magian, Fire-worshipper with the Fire-worshipper, Idolater with the Idolater, Sabean with the Sabean. They were, moreover, enjoined to be pious with the religious, and libertine with the dissolute. Dissimulation was taught as a science. In the interest of this conspiracy against the human race, the missionaries had to sacrifice passion and vice, as they had sacrificed conviction and virtue. They had to pass years in suffering, abstinence and poverty, in order to earn for the sect the merit of a good name. The subversion of human nature is to be attributed, not to reasonings, but to management: secresy and initiation were the means by which a few flimsy subtleties and insane extravagances appear to work out results such as only the most exalted sentiment could inspire.

The process was first to raise doubts, then to enjoin piety. The neophyte was at one time broken down with prayers repeated fifty times a day; at another, he was oppressed by engagements: a few only were advanced to the mysteries, and at each step new obligations to secresy were incurred.

Mahomet had gained proselytes from the different sects by adopting into his creed something which belonged to each: they worked by simulating such adoption. There was this difference between them and Islam, that they took ceremonies to desecrate them: their object was to destroy all religious faith, in order to obtain political slavery.

The history of Hassan Saba illustrates this wonderful phase of the human spirit, which, without such evidences, it would have been considered madness to assert as possible; and, as the evidences are far more interesting than any reasoning upon the subject can be, I subjoin a few passages from ancient writers, and some extracts from their Catechisms.

Instructions to the Daï, or missionary, from the Ismaëlian work quoted by Nowairi.

"With a Shiïte you will appear zealous in his doctrine. You will dwell on the injunction of the Mussulmans towards Ali and his sons, the death of Hosein and the captivity of his daughters. You will say that you will have nothing in common with Teïm* and Adi, or the sons of Omanaya or Abbas. You will win the spirit of a Sabean by disputing on the number seven, and the things which contain it. With a Magian, begin with the fourth degree of initiation, as his opinions are conformable to yours; insist upon the excellence of fire and of the light of the sun; teach him what concerns the Pre-existing, &c. *Of all sects the Magians and Sabeans are those which come nearest to us.*

"If you have to do with a Jew, conciliate his attention by speaking of the Messiah; teach him that it is the Mehdi, the knowledge of whom dispenses from the Law. You will gain his heart by

* Teïm was chief of the tribe Abou Beer. Teïm was son of Moosa, the son of Caab, the son of Lowaï. Omar was descended from Adi, son of Caab.

speaking ill of the Christians and the Mussulmans in regard to what they say of Jesus. Say with boldness that Joseph was his father, and that he exercised over Mary all the rights which a husband has over his wife. In this manner you will easily make a proselyte of him. With Christians you will make your way by abusing without distinction Jew and Mussulman. You will profess your belief in the Creed of the Christians, and you will teach them its true allegorical meaning. Reproach them with not understanding the Paraclete, who is yet to come, and to whom you call them."

The writer then proceeds to show how Dualists and Philosophers are to be dealt with; distinguishing, according to character and opinions, the point to which each is to be brought, and how they are to be bewildered, seduced and bound. A very few only are to be admitted to the full initiation; others are to be left serving their gods, and at the same time care is to be taken to shake such convictions as these: that the dead shall rise from their graves; that there are spiritual beings, as angels or demons; that of a creation of man, or that Adam was the first man; that of the mission of the prophets, or the existence of God.

The Daï was to reveal the engagements he had taken "neither in life nor in death, neither by force nor freely, neither in the hope of good nor the fear of evil, neither in affliction nor in prosperity, neither to gain an end nor to avoid a loss, and you shall appear

before God (man-God?) carrying with you the secret, and faithfully guarding this deposit according to the conditions of the present engagement."

The following are extracts from the Druze Catechism :—

Q. "Who are the three Preachers?

A. John, Mark and Matthew. (These names supposed to be symbolical of the three Preachers; the Soul, the Word and the Precedent.)

Q. In what consists the preaching?

A. They announced the advent of the true Messiah.

Q. Who announced the Gospel?

A. Matthew, Mark, Luke and John.

Q. How will each class be subdivided? (at the Day of Judgment.)

A. Amongst the sects. The Christians are the Nosaïries and the Moutawelis, &c.

Q. Why do we commend the Gospel?

A. To glorify Alkaïm-biamr-allah, who is the the same as Hamza, for it is he who taught the Gospel. Also we must approve before men whatever religion they profess. Moreover the Gospel is founded on Divine Wisdom, and allegorically figures the Unitarian faith.

(Then a true Messiah, is represented as among the disciples of the false Messiah the son of Joseph. But he allowed the Christians to be deceived.)

Q. Why did he thus deceive the Infidels?

A. *That the Unitarians* (Druzes) *might remain*

conccaled under the mask of the religion of the Messiah and that no one might know them.

(On the return of Hakim, Mussulmans and Christians are to pay Charatch to Druzes.)

Q. How do we distinguish a brother on meeting him or when he comes as one of us?

A. After compliments we say, "Do the labourers in your country sow the seed of Myrobolan?" If he answers "Yes, it is sown in the hearts of the believers;" then we question him on the knowledge of the Ministers, and if he can answer we know him for our brother.

The date of the Druze religion is A.H. 410—A.D. 1043; that of the Nosaïri is A.H. 270—A.D. 899. The former is supposed to have taken their origin from Hakim the Third, whom they recognized as God. Yet the two sects are so intimately connected, that Mana, who is the first person in the Trinity of the Nosaïri, is used amongst the Druzes to represent the "internal sense" of their dogmas. The Nosaïri and the Karmates are the same; and the Prophet of the latter professes to be sent from the Messiah, who is Jesus, who is the Word. Niebuhr mentions a Nosaïri Catechism, which he had heard of, but could not obtain. M. Katafago, of Beyrout, has recently obtained it; and from him I have had a translation. There is a close resemblance to that of the Druzes, but it draws nearer to Christianity. They have the Trinity; also a mass, in which they parody the Sacrament, omit-

ting the words of Christ, "My blood is shed for you," and make it the sign of the blood to be shed for the true religion. They keep the festival of the Nativity, and hold the immaculate conception of the Virgin.

The civil wars in the Lebanon have brought to light all the Druze writings: nothing has been added to the collection sent home by Niebuhr, and which have been used by De Sacy in his treatise. From the catalogue of Letters which he appends I extract a notice or two, which throw light upon the then condition of the country.

No. 50 is a letter addressed to several Daïs of the Tenhouk family.

Nos. 53, 54 and 55 are addressed as to Christians.

No. 35 addressed to the people of Syria some months after the death of Hakim, promising his reappearance.

No. 57, bearing date of A.H. 425, a letter of Moktana to the inhabitants of Lebanon, Antioch, and part of Syria and Mesopotamia, complaining of false doctrines and impostures.

No. 84 (A.H. 427), letter of Moktana, denouncing the blasphemies of Mohala, who taught promiscuous intercourse, such as was practised amongst the Nosaïri. Moktana repeatedly reproaches the Christians with falling off to Judaism and Mahomedanism. He addresses them as an assembly of saints. There are many coincidences with the Mormons.

The name of Druze is supposed to come from a certain Darazi, never mentioned in these writings, who, in Egypt, raised a religious commotion, attempted to set up El Hakim as God, and was soon after thrown into prison, and put to death. Elmacin, after repeating the adventures of Darazi, says, "Thus was formed the sect of the Darazi, which became celebrated among men: the places where they are most numerous are Wadi Hin (Waddy al Teïm), Tyre, Sidon, the mountain of Beyruth, and the adjoining places of Syria."

If the name had been derived from the man, the ordinary rule of such formation would have been followed, it would have been Darazieh. But the proximity which here appears is only obtained by changing the word; the sect is not called Darazi, but Durzi. The name cannot, therefore, come from Darazi; nor is there any evidence that he ever was in Syria; but, on the contrary, there is evidence that he never was there. The statement of Aboul Mahasen, that Hakim sent him to Syria in the year 408, is that of a stranger, and on hearsay. The writings of the Durzi themselves furnish more trustworthy testimony. From them it nowhere appears that Darazi was in Syria, and it could not fail to be mentioned had he been there. His death occurred in 410, when, with many of his followers, he was beheaded in Cairo. He must have, then, visited Syria between 408 and 410; but in 408 he was at open war with Hamza. The contest continued until

he lost his life. It is not then likely that he should have been sent to Syria; or had he gone there, and been successful, was it likely that he should have returned to Egypt. But had it been possible for him in this interval, and under those circumstances, to have propagated his doctrine in Syria, and to have acquired such a mastery that the professors should be known by his name, how should it happen that Hamza, in writing to the Syrians, should never allude to it, or that it should not be alluded to in the numerous letters above referred to? When the visit of Fakreddeen to the court of the Medici first gave currency to the name of Druze, the resemblance of sound caused the absurd derivation from the Count de Dreux to be for a time accepted by the learned in Europe. There is no more foundation for the etymology which is to-day universally accepted by those who reject the other as puerile and fantastic. Whence, then, is the word derived?

To any one conversant with the learned in the East, a very simple derivation will at once suggest itself. Tersi and Ders are words familiarly spoken when abstruse conversation or instruction is implied. Muderris is the name for "teacher," and the Arabic root which is now translated "to initiate" offers the same letters. The characteristics D, R, S, are to be found in various literal and grammatical combinations representing "school," "instruction" and "initiation." This class of sectarians represented themselves as "the Professors," "the Instructed," and

"the Initiated." Durzi and Darazi I therefore take to have been terms in general use which came to be appropriated to the followers of Hamza, in default of any specific name. Common expressions not unfrequently come to be so converted into a name, of which we have example in "Protestants."

The religion of Durzi has an historic value, in the absence of other records, in this; that it was a change which occurred at one period only. Spread by the most active and systematic proselytism it comes suddenly into being, and then as suddenly stops short.

There are religions of place or race, and religions of doctrine; the first have no thought of proselytism, the second exist only by it. When each people had its belief, and each land its gods, creeds differed as languages, or were subdivided as districts, and no more were controversies awakened by their admixture than by the simultaneous use of different tongues and grammars. Religions of dogma assail every other faith, and their extension is of necessity attended with those animosities which have infused the bitterest part in the cup of human suffering. In the Lebanon two dogmatic religions have coexisted for eight centuries, without having been accompanied with the slightest taint of religious discord, and one of the religions was at that period introduced as a novel relief. No where else has such a state of things been seen, and it is difficult to conceive how it could exist.

When fresh in the country, and under the impressions prevailing in Europe as to the mutual animosities of the Druzes and Maronites, the following words were addressed to me by a Druze Sheik, Saïd Jumbellat: "I have been thinking what I could tell you that would interest you most, and it is this:—the Druzes love the Maronites, and the Maronites the Druzes, *because of religion.* He who has become in the beginning Druze has become Druze, but no more can become Druze. We do not want to take away from the Maronites. We do not like to see their daughters married to Mussulmans, or themselves becoming Mussulmans, from whom they must not make converts, and who make converts from them." This light I did not fail to use in the study of the past. I remained satisfied that Saïd Bey had put his finger on the point most interesting to a stranger, as being the chief error entertained and spread respecting the condition of the country. Not only have religious discords been wanting, but the difference between the two religions has been a bond between the two people; for each severally is as a religious body, the object of attack, suspicion, or contempt to every other religious body without the pale of the mountain. This would be incomprehensible if Druzism had entered under the cloak of Islam, whether as addressed to a pre-existing Mussulman population, or as a population of Druzes already converted.

Considering the case historically, it is to be in-

ferred that Druzism must have been preached to Christians, a conclusion which its intrinsic character sustains. The Druzes revile Mahomet,* and have substituted for the Koran a book of their own, called "Destour;" this is not and never was a secret, however their dogmas may be. They are not circumcised, and practise in no respect the ceremonies of Islam. No Druze wears the green turban, a distinction which would not have been resigned had they been schismatics from Islam. They marry only one wife. Where dress is not subject to change by fashion at home or imitation from abroad, the form and colours of the clothing of a people become historical evidence equal to any that bronze or granite can supply. Druze and Maronite wear the same costume.

That most striking and peculiar ornament, the Tantour, which only belongs to this race, and has belonged to them from the very earliest stages of society, is common to both. It cannot for a moment be supposed that this distinction should have been imposed by the conquerors upon the conquered; still less that it should have been adopted from them.† Again, could it be that down to the middle of the last century, we should never so much as have heard of the distinction between Christian and

* "Surrounded by the Mahomedans, in whom their doctrines of necessity excited horror." De Sacy, T. II. p. 529.

† The Tantoura has recently been excommunicated by the Maronite Patriarch as a symbol of idolatry!

Druzé, if the Druzes had intruded themselves upon the Maronite country.

But the strongest evidence of its Christian origin is to be found in the legal view taken by the Mussulman Courts, and I am astonished that this point should have been overlooked by those who have written upon the subject. The Druzes, supposing them to have been originally Mussulmans, were either renegades, and must have been pursued as guilty of a capital offence, which in no time has Islam suffered to go unpunished, or they remained Mussulmans; in which case they would continue to be so held to the present time. But the Courts of law have always treated them as not belonging to Islam; and a Fetvah was rendered at Beyrouth, on the occasion of the conversion of a Druze to Christianity, to the effect that a Druze might freely become a Christian.

At first in Egypt it was a schism of Islam; it then proceeded to infidelity, and was cast out of Islam. In the latter form it reached Syria, and after it had been utterly extinguished elsewhere. Then it appeared as the enemy, alike of Islam and of Christianity; precisely on that account did it find favour; it had no other claim. Let us imagine Druze missionaries preaching disbelief in the two then contending creeds, and making converts on whom secresy was enjoined; these divided into two classes, one being the initiated: and recollecting that the Christian faith was that of the Greek Em-

pire, at the time detested by the mountaineers scarcely less than the Saracenic—then the whole case becomes clear. The secession was concealed, the neophytes cautious, and the result of the conversion neutrality in religion as hitherto in politics. How otherwise explain the phenomenon of a religion spread by a missionary system, and, so soon as established, ceasing to proselytise.

Nothing is more simple than the operation itself. It is the perception of it that is difficult, because of our notions. We only see in religious conversions the influence of argument and the action of individuals, being removed from the period in our own country when conversion was effected in the mass. In such cases the result is determined by political circumstances acting upon the dispositions of men.

Many other mistakes, besides this one, arise out of the erroneous supposition that men think. Thought must imply success, not attempt; and requires qualifications and powers so extensive and high, that their coincidence and exercise must be the rarest of events in the history of the world. The operation is a solitary one—is an abstracted one. Movements of men belong to another order, and are determined by their own character; that is, frivolity and passion. I have myself been present on the eastern borders of the Black Sea, at the anniversary in a Mussulman tribe of its entire conversion in one day from Christianity a few years before. This was within the limits of the Ottoman Empire, the laxity

of whose political bonds prevents it from suffering from the obloquy of Government. The apostasy was here determined, on the one hand, by the desire to exclude Russian emissaries; on the other, to conciliate the support of the Turkish Government. At the same time the character of Christianity was lowered by its being represented in their eyes by the Russian Government, and that of Islam raised as being represented to them by a Government—that of Constantinople—which neither schemed nor intrigued. Further to the north, similar cases have produced the same result on that other memorable mountain — the Caucasus, where Christianity has disappeared in proportion as the pressure of Russia has increased.

In like manner it can be understood how the Maronites of the Lebanon were ready to embrace a belief because it was neither that of the Empire by which it was assailed—the Mussulman—nor that of the Empire—the Christian—by which it was betrayed. We may also expect this proselytism instantly to cease when the causes are removed; that is to say, when another actor appears on the stage and causes Byzantine and Saracen alike to be forgotten. Such an actor did appear, and Maronite and Druze reverted to their original harmony, notwithstanding that they did now profess two different creeds.

The above conclusions I further sought to test by the criticism of those Europeans settled in Syria who

interest themselves in such matters; that is, the Missionaries. With all the available knowledge and disposition, they were unable to controvert any of the foregoing statements or arguments; their opposition confined itself to some trifling objections. First, that there is a discrepancy between the language of the Druzes and Maronites; secondly, that the character of the two people is dissimilar; thirdly, that the Druzes preserve the Mussulman names. To these I reply; first, that there is no difference in the language except as flowing from the difference of the two religions; the Druzes adopting Arabic terms, the Maronites holding to the Syriac as their Church tongue, and indeed commonly speaking it until a century ago. Secondly, the difference of character was thus described to me by one of the Missionaries themselves; "the Druzes have some good points, the Maronites have none." The difference that does exist I explain in this way: the Maronites through their connection with Rome became at an earlier period than the Druzes corrupted by foreign influence. The Druzes isolated from the world had to rely on themselves. Thirdly, as to names; if the Druze is to be held a Mussulman because he bears the name of Achmet, how have we a Bishop Halil and an Emir Hyder, Christians? The peculiar and striking feature of this country, the absence of all distinction, as connected with religion, in dress, form of salutation and social station, is manifested no less in proper names.

Those fifty places which I have already adduced, as giving by their Syriac etymology the disproof of an Arab conquest, lie immediately around the present capital of the Druzes, Deïr El Cammar. And as amongst these, some Arabic names have been introduced which are descriptive and applying to places of recent origin, so in regard to the names of men, a slight modification has in recent times taken place, such as this. A Christian will not give to his child the name of Mahomet or Achmet, from a peculiar aversion to that name, since religious animosities have sprung up; just as the neighbouring Mussulman, when he has given that name to his child, addresses him as *Sidi*, even though an infant.

The case we have been here examining is as a proposition of Euclid, which rests not on a narrative or a description, but on inevitable deduction. That which had to be demonstrated, in order that any event of the Lebanon past or present might be apprehended is—that Druze and Maronite is one people. That has been demonstrated.

CHAPTER VII.

NEUTRALITY DURING THE CRUSADES.

We have now arrived at the period of the long convulsion of Syria from the Crusades. In the centre of this storm stood the Lebanon, and it is to be expected that above all other countries, it should have been thereby torn and shattered. But on the contrary we find it passing through this epoch, motionless within, undisturbed from without. Its inhabitants looked down on hosts marching through in the confidence of victory, or flying in the panic of defeat. To them it was only a spectacle. Seated on their endless amphitheatres they could watch the struggles of the East and the West, and note their very countenances. Time cannot afford a similar example of neutrality and spectatorship so close, unimpassioned, unexpected and entire.

This iron stream for more than two centuries poured over the Taurus, and issued from the sea. It surged and raged around without overpassing the abutments of the Lebanon. The Crusaders sought in every nook and cranny throughout Syria, Christians to enrol and Mussulmans to exterminate. Wherever there was a castle, when in strength, they assaulted it; and in discomfiture, wherever

there was a sheltering rock or pass, they claimed its protection. But in the Lebanon they found neither victim nor ally; neither fortress to assail, nor fastness to protect; and followed the highway, whether victorious or vanquished, without venturing into the fields, as a turnpike road is followed by a dray.

At this time the Mirdite population was not confined to the limits of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, the Hauran and the Ledja, but extended on the north to regions and positions, scarcely less important for the Crusaders, if they could have impinged upon them. These were the mountain ranges above Aleppo, which crossed the path of the Crusaders into Syria.

At the close of these two centuries, during which the world was filled with Syria, and we hear nothing of the Lebanon, an event occurred which throws a prospective light upon the circumstances of this happy obscurity. The Crusaders were finally driven out in 1302. Three or four years after, a trifling disembarkation took place of Christians at the mouth of the Damour, near Beyrouth, these were speedily repulsed by the people of the Lebanon. But the Sultan of Damascus, either misinformed or no longer constrained to respect the neutrality of the Lebanon, charged the Mirdites with having invited their co-religionaries, and sent his lieutenant, Accoush El Essem, to punish them. A great battle took place at Rabbellias, in the B'kkaa, in

which the troops of the Sultan were utterly defeated. A commotion was excited in consequence at Damascus, and to allay the storm a fetva was obtained by the Sultan from the Mufti, legalising the war on the false grounds that the Christians had been the aggressors. "A fetva is a judicial decision rendered on a statement of the case impersonally made on the part of the executive; that is to say, the case is stated without names. In this instance the statement would have been as follows: "M. is at peace with the Sultan of Damascus. N. is the enemy of the Sultan of Damascus. M. invites N. to land on his coast. Is it lawful to draw the sword against M.?" The terms of the fetva would be, "The sword may be drawn against M." This fetva proves that up to that time, that is to say, during the Crusades, no war existed between the people of the Lebanon and the Saracens. The transaction itself further shows that it was not because the Lebanon was uninhabited that it was either unheard of or unoccupied.

The retreat of the Christians had left the successful party in undisturbed possession, but with a vast accumulative mass of warlike means; troops which had to be disbanded; and predatory hordes of Turcomans collected from far and near, filled with the lust of vengeance, and the love of plunder. The Lebanon presented a virgin soil, and had inflicted a disgrace on the Mussulman arms which had to be wiped out. The Mussulman historians narrate

that ample vengeance was taken; that its terraces were ravaged, its monasteries sacked, and its people dispersed. That this is an exaggeration is shown by the insignificance of the results, which amounted merely to the establishment of a small tribe of Turcomans, in Kesroan.* Taking together the narrative and the event, we may conclude that the Saracens were desirous but not able to subdue the Lebanon. And if they failed in the hour of victory, and with the forces in hand with which they had expelled the Christians, we may infer that the strength of the Lebanon was not inferior in the fourteenth century to what it had been between the seventh and tenth, when it resisted almost single-handed the pristine vigour of the Caliphate.

The most instructive portion of this incident still remains to be told. When the Mirdites met the Mussulman troops of Damascus at Rabbellias, they were themselves commanded by two Mussulmans, the Emirs Fakreddeen, and Shemsheddeen.

If, during the Crusades, the Mirdites were not at war with the Mussulmans, it follows that they were not at war with the Christians. Though mentioned by the Christian writers, and especially by William of Tyre, as a powerful and warlike Christian nation, they are nowhere spoken of as allies of the Crusaders, nor are they spoken of as their enemies.† What

* This Turcoman tribe was someway connected with the Beni Assaph, but my notes on the subject are indistinct and illegible.

† William of Tyre, writing in 1111, says that Tancred appealed in vain to "the Christians of the mountains."

is said of them is sufficiently erroneous to prove the absence of so much as intercourse, for they are called Monophysites, and their name of Maronite is explained as being derived from that heresy, which is exactly the reverse of the truth: they were not Monophysites, and the name of Maron was known only in opposition to that heresy. Upon this imaginary schism is based the fable of their apocryphal conversion to the Church of Rome. It is, however, not only possible, but even probable, that some portion of that population which had come to receive the name of Maronite had adopted the Monophysite heresy; and, being expelled, sought to connect themselves by a renunciation with the Franks, which would give colour to the story. Or the same thing may have happened with the Druzes, who at one time had a common name with the Monophysites—namely, Unitarians: a term originally designating, not a disbelief in two of the persons of the Trinity, but a belief in the one nature of Christ.

It now remains for us to discover why the Lebanon, at war with the Saracens from their first appearance in Syria down to the Crusades, should have put an end to that warfare, and assumed a position of inflexible neutrality, from the moment that a powerful enemy of their own creed appeared upon the scene. That cause is not difficult to find. It requires but to recall the circumstances—those circumstances which I have already narrated—at once to perceive it. It is *the introduction of the Druze religion.*

If my explanation of the otherwise inexplicable success of that monstrous and ridiculous infatuation be correct—namely, the loathing of the Mirdites for the Byzantine Empire, and their hatred against the Caliphate—it would follow that, upon the removal of these causes, the effect should cease. The causes were removed by the appearance of the Crusaders upon the stage. In the immediate danger, remoter fears and passions were forgotten. Conversion to Druzism immediately ceased; proselytism by Druzes was immediately suspended. The object now was to set at rest the schism of the garrison for the defence of the fortress.

CHAPTER VIII.

MUSSULMAN PRINCES INTRODUCED.

THE harmony of the garrison was not to be obtained by renunciation. The Moarni could not say to the Durzi, "renounce your new imposture;" nor the Durzi to the Moarni, "give up your old belief." It was enough that the Druze should be satisfied to remain as he was, and that the Maronite should be content to remain as he was; that neither should incommode the other on the score of doctrine, and abstain from indulging in the luxuries of proselytism. This neutrality, however, could neither be expected nor trusted in, whilst the administrative superiority remained with one of the sects. As to the differences in regard to belief, the Druzes had all the advantage, being engaged in a course of triumphant proselytism. But the Maronites still held in their hands the supreme administration; and to establish the balance, equal sacrifices were required, were possible, were made. It was necessary that the Druzes should cease to proselytize; it was possible for them to do so: they did so. It was necessary that the Christians should surrender the Princedom; and, unless they had done so, the Druzes would not have ceased to proselytize: they did do so. But if

the Maronites resigned the Princedom, it was not that the Druzes should usurp it. The condition and seal of the union of the garrison was, that now and henceforth neither Druze nor Maronite should rule in the Lebanon. They had to call in a stranger, and to constitute that stranger Prince; and they did so. They called in an Arab of the house of Tenhouk, and made him Ruler over them. Nevertheless, the ancient rule against the admission of strangers was held, with the exception of the Prince, as strictly as ever.

Thus fell the ancient, simple, and patriarchal constitution of a people dating back its line beyond all history and all tradition; and that not by a revolution, but by a logical argument, in the view of averting prospective danger. It was effected in the midst of internal schism and external convulsions, calculated to perplex the judgment of the wisest men, and to overthrow the prosperity of the most formidable state. The success it merited crowned the performance; and at this interval of time, without a document, annotation, or trace of any description, not inferential, we can embody in thought, and place before us in imagination, the Council of Elders, examining their position, weighing the arguments on either side, settling the plans for the future, imposing self-sacrifices on the passions of the sectaries and the ambition of the Princes, and listening to the patriotic outpourings of zelots surrendering their fervour, and Emirs deposing on the altar of

their country, their station and their power. That such scenes have not unfrequently occurred in the history of the human race, the written records of that history cannot always efface, and very often imply. But such occurrences belong not to the period during which history has become precise; when within that period such things happen, history trembles to record them, lest itself should not be believed.

If the circumstances, as I assume them to be, of the first election are questioned, at least no doubt can exist in reference to the introduction of the two princely houses which followed the Tenhouk. On both which occasions, the people supplied the lost line by the elevation, neither of a Druze nor a Maronite, but by the election of a foreigner and a Mussulman. The last of these occurred at an interval of seven centuries; and during the whole course of this time, the purpose of the selection was secured. No religious dissension arose; no spirit of proselytism re-awakened. The names of Druze and Maronite are utterly ignored; the people are always designated by their districts, the Princes by their names. When factions appear, in the early stage they bear names which descend from Pagan times, and which were common throughout Syria (Yeminé and Caïsié). In times nearer to our own, they are replaced by Jumbellati and Yezbecki, derived from a local feud, in which Druzes and Maronites are indiscriminately arrayed on both sides.

That to appertain to neither Druze nor Maronite, nor to the mountain itself, must have been the condition of the possession of the supreme power at all times, I know from my own experience; for, even in private communication, sincerity and confidence are out of the question, except with a stranger. And if the stranger be himself not competent to hold intercourse with them directly, his interpreter must be neither Druze nor Maronite; he must of necessity be a stranger and of strangers—if possible, a Mussulman.

By placing the chief authority in the hands of a Mussulman, they, during the Crusades, secured themselves both against the attacks of the Saracens and the solicitations of the Crusaders. Christian and Druze obeyed alike a Mussulman leader; avoided taking part in a Mussulman combination; and opposed in common an invading Christian host.

THE LINE OF TENHOUK.

Abul Feda mentions the Tenhouk as a Christian branch of the tribe Elnaman Ben Menzir, who "first inhabited the Christian principality of Hiré, and built large churches in the country occupied by his tribe." Hiré, now Meschid Ali, was the celebrated Christian kingdom of Chaldea, which the exploits of Antar have rendered classic ground. After the slaughter of Nocuan, king of Hiré, by Parviz, son of Calzïas, his brother or nephew fled first to Moarré,

and thence to the Lebanon: the family soon afterwards appear as hereditary princes, settled at Abaye, overlooking the plain of Beyrouth, which was one of the successive capitals of the Lebanon.

It was upon this prince, who combined a royal descent with personal destitution, that doubtless the election of the mountaineers had fallen. The family settled at Abaye were Mussulmans, but being originally Christians, it is to be inferred that, like Henry IV., they renounced their faith for a sceptre. This is further confirmed by two incidents. Amongst the Druze writings there are letters addressed to the Tenhouk as Christians. And when the Mussulman branch of the Tenhouk was shortly afterwards cut off, and a new election made, it was not a Tenhouk that was raised to the princedom, but a stranger; the Tenhouk remaining in the country, and standing pre-eminent as a Druze family.

The princely branch of the Tenhouk came to their end, not by natural extinction or by internal convulsion. At the close of the eleventh century, Daher, of the Metuali family still established at Baalbec, was in possession of Beyrout. He lost it to the Crusaders; who, seeking to extend their conquests, and doubtless attributing the resistance they met with in the Lebanon to the presence of a Mussulman chief, conceived the plan of effecting by treachery what they could not by force. The Prince and his family were invited from the neighbouring Abaye to a grand feast at Beyrout. They accepted

the invitation, and the whole, while seae d at the Christian table, were massacred. A child named Dgemaleddeen is mentioned as the sole survivor; which must mean the sole Mussulman survivor, as distinguished from the Tenhouk who had remained Christian and had become Druze. This act of treachery did not bear the fruits which the Christians expected from it. Their designs against the mountain were in no ways advanced, and the mountaineers were only put to the trouble of a new election,—a child being unequal to the cares and toils of government at such a moment.

THE MAAN.

The next election fell upon a race no less distinguished and no less unfortunate, equally combining royal descent and personal destitution. The Emir Younis was first or second cousin, through a marriage of his father, to the slaughtered Tenhouk Prince. He traced through Ayoub, the founder of the Ayoubites, back to the Beni Rebbia. Saladin was a collateral of the same line. In consequence of a Desert feud, the Beni Rebbia had originally migrated into Mesopotamia, and had thence wandered under the Emir Rabin to the neighbourhood of Aleppo. His son, the Emir Maan, from whom the patronymic is derived, engaged in warfare with the Frank possessors of Antioch. He was celebrated as a warrior; but fortune proving adverse, he had to fly, and retired

to the B'kkaa, whence, contracting a marriage with the Tenhouk, an asylum was offered to him at Baklin in the Shouf. His son Younis was therefore a most eligible candidate ready to their hands, being allied to the extinct family, and being moreover a Mussulman by descent. His successors ruled the Lebanon uninterruptedly down to the year 1694; that is for above six centuries; continuing in fact in that country the royal line of the Ayoubites, which had already disappeared from the rest of Syria and Egypt. It was two of his descendants who commanded the Mirdites in the battle of Rabbelias against the troops of the Sultan of Damascus in 1306.

A member of the house of Shaab, named Emir Hyder, has in the beginning of this century compiled a history of his country from native sources. His account of the introduction of the Maan, differing in every point from that which I have given, will, however, be found on critical examination entirely to confirm it. At all events it is incumbent on me to reproduce the passage, adding thereto the comments which it suggests.

After mentioning the wandering of the Maan and bringing them to the neighbourhood of Baalbec in the Bkkaa, he proceeds. "Whilst there this tribe received orders from Noureddin to establish itself on the summit of the mountains which divided that valley from the sea coast, in the towns of which the Christians had established themselves;

and having so fortified itself, to harass them by continual incursions. The Emir Maan obeyed, abandoned the fertile Bkkaa, crossed into the Lebanon, established himself in Shouf, then a desert country. Nearer the shore there was the Mussulman tribe of Tenhouk charged by Noureddin with the defence of the mouths of the Damour; its chiefs lived at Abaye, and rejoicing at the arrival of these new allies, sent them masons to build houses for them. The Emir Maan perceiving the inconvenience of tents in these lofty mountains, often covered with snow, accepted these offers, and caused his whole tribe to abandon the use of tents. This practice became general, and the fugitives from the neighbourhood of Antioch, and of the other countries occupied by the Franks, assembled in Shouf and covered it with villages."

That a weak tribe already expelled by the Franks, was to new settle an important district as a barrier to them, is not more conceivable than that that district should be deserted. Nor is it more unlikely that the Sultan of Damascus should have confided to them this charge, than that they, on his mere order, should have abandoned the fertile plains of the Bkkaa, had they been established there as a tribe, to commence a new manner of life, without grain, and by sacrificing their sole subsistence and wealth—cattle. The conversion of the Arab from the nomade to the settled life does occur, but not in this fashion; and there is no similar case in all their

history. Besides if this Mussulman population was then introduced, it is very strange that no remnant of it should be left, and with these stone-masons, that no mosque has been erected, for at least its ruins would have stood as a record. Independently of all this; where were the hundred thousand warriors mentioned by William of Tyre; namely, the forty thousand Maronites, and the sixty thousand Ismaëlians, if the Lebanon were uninhabited? Geography, however, furnishes the most complete and simple refutation of this supposititious Mussulman colonization. The assumed colonists were Arabs; their settlements must therefore have borne Arabic names; the Arabic is now the common tongue, having been gradually introduced during the last eight centuries. The Shouf contains fifty places; of these thirty are pure Syriac, three uncertain, and seven only are Arabic. As the whole scheme of Government rests on the absence of conquest and colonization, and as this argument is conclusive, I subjoin in a note the names of the towns and villages of Shouf, classifying them.*

* Syriac.

† Baklin	† Abaye	Amanoub
Ambal	Shimlan	Aineb
Amatour	Alich	Ainelsebeh
Aincana	Araya	Tfoun
Niha	Gaiboun	Selfaia
Aramoun	Bcouara	Rumbana

†† The two successive capitals.

The Emir Hyder wrote at a period when notions had penetrated from the West incompatible with the social condition which he had to record. He belonged to a family which by conversion to one of the two sects had falsified its own claim to the Princedom, and by the subsequent retention of power had upset the constitution of the country. He has therefore falsified events, partly by inability to understand them, partly by the necessity belonging to the condition of religious imposture which was that of his family. Election by a united people of Druze and Maronite it was impossible for him to conceive, and the forfeiture of his house by its apostacy it was his business to conceal. Nor did it require such inducements for a weak man holding the pen, to fall upon that easy expedient in all causes of difficult judgment—conquest by the sword.

The next family came in only at the end of the seventeenth century, yet as their establishment

Chertoun	Barouk	ARABIC.
Aintrez	Bmochrai	El Maasin
Rishmaia	Gibea	Muchtara
Uptetir	Butne	Jedeïdé (new village.)
Pamdoun	Amouzei	
Medgelbana	Bakaoun	Misherfi (commanding.)
Bidghan	Jezzin	
Sharoun		Runlieh (sandy)
Yazmid	UNCERTAIN.	Waddy Sit (Valley of the Lady.)
Andara		
Midgilmous	Aïtat	Chraïbe, (Ruin)
Briah	Angaltè	Magraa (village)
Betloun	Urchanié	Garifó

within the precincts of the Lebanon as subordinate feudatories took place at a short interval, I may here, in anticipation of their future elevation, introduce them.

THE SHAAB.

The Shaab descend from the great family of the Koreish. They formed part of the first expedition against Damascus, A. H. 23, where they appeared as the Beni Makzoum of the Hedjaz under the Emir Marith and his son Malek, followers of Abu Obeïdah. After the capture of Damascus the Caliph Omar confided to the Emir Malek the command of the Hauran, through which the communications had to be kept open with the Hedjaz. From Saba in that district the patronymic of Shaab was derived: there they pastured their flocks during five centuries and a half. On the rupture between Saladin and Noureddin Sultan of Aleppo, they were obliged to fly, and in 1205 (A. H. 568) they found refuge in the Waddy el Teïm, their family having in the previous century formed an alliance with the family of Maan of Abaye.

The annalist Emir Hyder, in narrating the first appearance of his own family in the Lebanon, may be expected to indulge in even greater exaggeration than in speaking of the Maan. His account is as follows.

"The removal of the Beni Shaab to the neigh-

bourhood of the Lebanon was occasioned by their known partizanship with Saladin. The Emir held a council of the wise men of the tribe, and its unanimous decision was to remain neuter in the war between Noureddin and Saladin. This they could not do in the Hauran, and they determined to remove to the valley which separates the Lebanon from the Anti-Lebanon.

"Sultan Noureddin sent to offer them a refuge in the city of Damascus. They answered that they would remain neutral between the Mussulmans, but would be always ready to join them against the Christians; that they could not accept his offer to dwell in the city of Damascus, for their manner of life was under the tent.

"The Franks (Crusaders) held Hashbaya, and had filled it with troops and implements of war. Alarmed at the appearance of this new enemy, and sending for aid to the garrison of Iskif, they marched against them, and rushed upon them from the mountains like clouds of locusts. The Shaab met their foes with equal valour and impetuosity, and their chief, the Emir Murked, being of a poetic turn encouraged his adherents by a distich.

"The battle field is the only repose for my hate.
"The sword is drawn for the brightness of the congregation of Islam."

"After the loss of five thousand men, the Franks withdrew into Hashbaya, which the Shaab besieged; and notwithstanding the masses of rock, and the

showers of arrows which the engines of the besieged cast upon them, after a few days stormed the place. Five hundred Crusaders were put to the sword; the remainder of the population was reduced to slavery; each Emir had for his share ten men and five women. The heads of the garrison were sent to Damascus, and Sultan Noureddin conferred on the Emir the government of the country which he had conquered."

Had he spoken of the Bkkaa generally, and not specially of Waddy el Teim, we could not have critically denied the accuracy of the statement; but the Waddy Teim is limited alike in length and breadth. On the east rises the Gebel El Sheik, and on the west a long sharp ridge: the furthest extent to which this narrow slip can be drawn out is fifteen miles. Of these fifty or sixty square miles, a small portion only is fit for pasturage, and the mountains rise abruptly on all sides. Fortunately an Arab tribe requires for its cattle an amount of provender which makes the movements of large bodies a most difficult affair. The body of nomades assumed to have followed the standard of Emir Munked would have required the plain of Tiberias to the south, or that of the Bkkaa to the north for pasturage. This is to suppose that these regions had been overran and conquered; if so that act would have been stated, and the historian would not have narrowed down to the paltry though beautiful valley of the Teïm, the greatness and the prowess of his house. Hashbaya, as its remains attest, had been

at some time in possession of the Crusaders. How they lost it, does not appear; it is not so much as mentioned in the works on the Crusades which I have had the opportunity of consulting. Emir Hyder states that at the same time Rashaya fell into the hands of the Shaab, which is confirmed by the existence to this day of the same family as ruling it—not as a tribe inhabiting it. It is remarkable that during 680 years this branch of the Shaab should have uninterruptedly governed the valley of Teïm, amid all the ordinary mutations of life and fortune and the peculiar perils incidental to this land. With this permanency of the family is it not to be expected that the tribe itself, if there had ever been one, would have endured? If we put aside the story of the tribe, then the elevation of the Shaab family in the Anti-Lebanon is explained by the same state of things which raised the family of Maan in the Lebanon; namely, a mixed Maronite and Druze population. The Emir Younis is represented as rejoicing greatly at the arrival and triumph of the Beni Shaab, and as going to Hashbaya to congratulate them; the Emir Munked in turn visits Baklin, already become the seat of the Maan, and spends a month there; and the two families are allied by marriage.

These Mussulman Princes remain equally neuter in all subsequent feuds of the Mussulmans; they resist a subsequent attempt of Christians to retake Hashbaya. Neither Maan nor Shaab appear how-

ever at the great gathering of Saladin on the lake of Tiberias, so soon followed by the catastrophe of Hattin. The house of Shaab held patriarchal sway in the Hedjaz for three centuries before it entered Syria. It maintained a princely independence in the Hauran for five hundred and sixty years, before they were called by the failure of the Maan to the government of the Lebanon in 1694. They ruled it down to 1841, or one hundred and forty-seven years. The family now numbers eighty-two individuals; it traces its ancestry back fifteen centuries.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE CRUSADES TO THE RISE OF THE OTTOMAN POWER.

BETWEEN the close of the Crusades, and the establishment of the Ottoman dominion there is an interval of 279 years, during which the Mirdites disappear from the history of the world, as if they had never been, or as if they had ceased to exist. Mention of them is made obscurely by Mussulman writers only at one period, 1388, when they are noticed in the same strain as on former occasions by Byzantine, Armenian, and Saracenic writers; that is, merely to state that they had ceased to exist. The occasion of this notice is an incursion of the Turcomans in that year, when the exposed and already detached district of Kesroan was again desolated. The only notice of the invasion of the Moguls under Timour Bey is occasioned by the Emirs of Hashbaya taking refuge in Shouf, to return only after those hordes had retired. Into the Lebanon itself they never penetrated. During these eight generations they continued to be ruled by the house of Maan, the Shaab equally ruling in the Anti-Lebanon. Native annalists record events connected with these families and some convulsions; none of which, however, affect the well being of the people, the order

of government, or the state of possession of the different princedoms. Various disembarkations of the Franks are noticed; but they neither obtain support from the people nor become occasions of distrust or quarrel with the Mussulmans. The Princes and the People alike abstain from all connection with external events; and it would not be known that there was any but one religion, nor even what that religion was, but for the contemporary ecclesiastical writers.

In approaching the period of the Ottoman supremacy, we come to the first conquest of this people: that is, it is not until the end of the seventeenth century that that fatal word can be here spoken of. So striking a circumstance in the history of man may well induce us to pause for a moment to contrast their circumstances with that of the remainder of the inhabitants of the earth.

Egypt has been conquered by Hyksos, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Saracens and Turks.

Greece, by Macedonians, Romans, Crusaders and Turks; and has been overrun by Slaaves, Goths, and Albanians.

Spain, by Iberians, Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Moors.

France, by Romans, Franks, and a modern coalition.

England, by Romans, Saxons, and Normans.

Italy, by Etruscans, Gauls, Romans, Goths, Huns, Lombards, French, and Austrians.

Asia Minor, by Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Turcomans, Crusaders, and Turks.

Syria is the trodden down of nations. She has been conquered by Anakim, Canaanites, Hebrews, Assyrians, Egyptians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, Romans, by Persians a second time, Saracens, Seljuks, Turcomans, and Ottomans.

The other countries we have mentioned have been themselves conquerors in turn, and brought upon other nations the sufferings they had themselves endured. But Syria figures in history only as a victim.

In recounting the incursions under which Syria has fallen, we, at the same time, recount the assaults which the Lebanon has resisted. This Lebanon is not a Caucasus, permanent because inaccessible; nor a Himalaya, whose atmosphere girds it round with a wall, and whose structure makes it the fountain of human events. These fourteen invasions were not the struggle of campaigns, but the turmoil of centuries. The Lebanon we see to-day is peopled by the weakest, the silliest population of the globe. It could, therefore, only have held its own by a constitution of mind which profited by its physical configuration. It is the excellence of a civil society which excluded feuds, and not the impregnability of a mountain fastness which arrested armies, that enabled this one province to defy alike Timour and Pompey, Saladin and Alexander, Tancred and Solomon, the Cæsars and the Caliphs.

We test the relative adhesiveness of granite, not to ascertain which specimen contains the hardest molecules, but to find in which the process of disintegration is least advanced. In testing the permanency of societies, we have in like manner to look for causes, not of permanency, but of decay. The dissolving force is doubt, which works by division.

The first call that is made by the manifestation of ambiguity on the reparatory faculties of man is to discover a standard. The standard being found and maintained, the society will continue uninfluenced by time and a stranger to events. This standard is Law. Its fluctuation is Government. Its subversion is decay.

How the Lebanon remained to be conquered in the seventeenth century is stated by implication, when there is no statement made of division. There was no contest of succession, no conflict of classes, or of general and local administration; no difference had arisen in reference to the methods of taxation or the control of expenditure; no interference had taken place with free exchange. The words "pauperism" and "monetary system" had never been heard; no schemes of wrong abroad had undermined liberties at home; no secrecy had, in the garb of diplomacy, destroyed integrity and independence. The dissolving forces, which constitute our present Governments of the West, being wanting, not only could that society live on—it could not die.

Primitive races, if free from the evils contingent upon the concentration of power and the accumulation of wealth, have always suffered from "blood feuds." To the desire of escaping from this scourge must be attributed that wonderful phenomenon which the human race presents to the dispassionate observer—the facility of its submission to despotic power. The Lebanon has remained free also from this infliction, as is attested by the record of its introduction in the middle of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER X.

THE LEBANON INCORPORATED INTO THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

SYRIA was conquered by Selim I. in 1517. The inhabitants of the Lebanon, according to their historian, resisted the Ottoman arms. The resistance of course amounted to no more than we have seen on previous occasions. Nevertheless, the then Emir, Fakreddeen, visited the Sultan in his camp, "charmed him by his eloquence, and was commissioned by him to regulate the affairs of the other Emirs of Syria, over whom he obtained precedence." He returned home in peace; no change whatever was effected in the condition of the country. Emir Fakreddeen does not seem to have troubled the other Emirs by his interference, or to have enjoyed the honour of precedence over them. He was gathered to his fathers after a long reign, and his son Kerkmass reigned in his stead. Under this prince a novel feature is revealed in the character of the people, and one which determined their subsequent fate; this was the pillage of a caravan in the neighbourhood of Acre.

The Ottoman dominion had now been established for more than half a century, and during that period

Syria had known the strange vicissitude of repose. Up to this time the turbulence of the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt and of the semi-independent principalities in the neighbourhood, had kept the vigilance of the mountaineers on the alert, and so sustained the internal adhesion and external watchfulness, which, for so many centuries, had never been suffered to slumber for an hour in the Lebanon. It must be observed, that there was no soldier class, and but a laxly constituted Government; so that their means of defence consisted in constant preparedness of mind. Each man was armed, and each household, with its terraced fields and orchards, was a fortress which the inmates were ready to defend at a moment's notice; ready for that purpose to muster, and for that purpose alone; and on such occasions turning out from the child of ten years old to the man of ninety. They lived in a state, of which the variations consisted in the change from active siege to permanent blockade. And this existence had been for them continuous for nearly three thousand years, by means of which they had remained at once the most warlike and the most peacable of men; who never touched what did not belong to them, but whom no one could touch with impunity.

The strain out of which this character sprung could not be relieved without corresponding effects; it is quite to be supposed that these military habits no longer needful for defence at home should degenerate into lawlessness abroad. It is equally clear

that the development of such a spirit in the Lebanon imposed upon any constituted Government the necessity of arresting it. To coerce such a people might be difficult, to endure their excesses impossible. The Porte seems not to have considered the forces at the disposal of the neighbouring Pashas sufficient and had recourse to Egypt. The thread of Egyptian history, so long interwoven with that of Syria, was now for the first time intertwined with that of the Lebanon. There was then too an Ibrahim Pasha in Egypt; he marched from the banks of the Nile and joined the chiefs of Kesroan, finding partizans in the mountain, principally the family of Tenhouk. Emir Kerkmass found himself unable to resist, and fled without striking a blow. The supposed ringleaders were sent to Constantinople, a fine was imposed, and the Lebanon from that time was subjected to an annual tribute; the Emir henceforward to be responsible for its payment, and to receive annually his investiture from the neighbouring Pasha. The chiefs sent to Constantinople were then liberated, the Prince was restored. With the changes above mentioned the affairs of the mountain resumed their ordinary course; it entered not into the idea of the Porte to legislate or to organize, and therefore the speculations of European writers upon the conquest then effected are equally silly and superfluous. Nevertheless from that period commences a new and unfortunate order of things.

In 1604, the Emir Fakreddeen, the last of the

Maan, succeeded to his father. This is the man who, by his violences and his folly, having brought to the ground, not only his own ancient house, but the constitution of his country in Europe, has been held to be a hero and a martyr. Having ruminated schemes of ambition, he entered into plots and alliances far and near. These being betrayed to the Porte, the Pasha of Damascus was ordered to put him down. This was now an easy matter, and Fakreddeen fled before the aspect of the danger he had evoked. He retired to Italy, where his oriental splendour, his courteous demeanour, and the mystery which overhung the Prince of an unknown people and of unheard-of faith, gave celebrity to the Druzes, and political importance to the Lebanon.

Meanwhile, the family of Maan was not disturbed in possession. The Emirship passed to Youness, brother of Fakreddeen. Here commences the perverse order which endured down to the time of the usurpation of Mehemet Ali of Egypt. Youness had been engaged in the plots of his brother. The Pasha of Acre, to whom had now been conceded the right of investiture, bethought himself of the profitable investments secured to him in the delinquencies of the Emirs; to be effected by obtaining the pardon, or, rather, in blinding the judgment of the Porte, and exacting a compensation from the delinquent. The investiture of Youness thus realized for him 300,000 piastres,—a sum which, taking the then value of the piastre, could not have fallen short of £70,000.

The tribute paid by the Lebanon to the Porte was 160 purses, or less than £20,000. Thus, by the mere screening of an offender, the Pasha of Acre realized a sum exceeding threefold the revenue derived by the Porte from the whole province. It may easily be imagined what results were to flow from the invention of this new source of corruption.

The profits of the Pasha of Acre on this transaction did not end here. The Emir of the Waddy el Teïm had been, no less than Youness, compromised in the intrigues of Fakreddeen. He too had to be condoned, reinvested and ransomed; and a further sum of £30,000 entered the treasury of the Pasha. Who was ultimately to discharge these fines? Not certainly the two Emirs. The people had previously regulated their own modest finances with a sparing hand, and scrutinized each item of expenditure with a curious eye. They were all proprietors, all soldiers, all public functionaries: they did their own work. They did it well for they did it cheaply: and discharged it less by money or produce paid, than by labour contributed. Voluntary contributions to the Prince made up his revenues. This simple rule, which is no other than the condition of freedom, had now to disappear and that of exaction and oppression to take its place. Vice is an expensive luxury—and when a people lets loose its passions it must pay the equivalent, not in taxes only but in liberty also.

The two Emirs had tasted the forbidden fruit and

liked it. They recommenced plotting. There were Pashas in other places besides Acre, and they thought that what the Pasha of Acre had found so profitable it was desirable to share. Damascus besides was nearer to the Waddy Teïm than Acre, and its Pasha in turn took the Lebanon in hand. In 1614 he visited Hasbaya with so large a retinue that the Emir did not think it advisable to await to receive him, and thence took his way to Deïr el Cammar (circle of the Moon), to which place the Emirs had now transferred their seat from Baklim. The place was sacked, and the palace of the Maan destroyed.

Independently of these contentions with the authorities of the Porte and strifes between the various families of chiefs, the Lebanon was then a prey to those ancient factions, Caisié and Yemene, which have periodically ravaged Syria for a space of not less than two thousand years, and which to-day, extinct elsewhere, retain a traditional hold over the people of the Lebanon.

To Fakreddeen the door of return was opened by these troubles. He reappeared in the Lebanon after an absence of five years, and was met and welcomed by the chiefs of the whole country, extending as far as Baalbec, and so resumed without contest his former authority.

A dissension had manifested itself among the family of Shaab, Fakreddeen succeeded in adjusting it by dividing the Waddy Teïm into two parts, giving

Hasbaya to Ali Shaab, and the superior part, with Rashaya, to his younger brother. This division has lasted to this day. The two brothers from that time attached themselves to Fakreddeen.

The next event in the life of Fakreddeen is the defeat and capture of the Pasha of Damascus, to whom he excused himself on his success, and set him at liberty. The result was his pardon and confirmation in his now extensive acquisitions. The Metuali of Baalbec had been the cause of the quarrel, and they became the sacrifice of the reconciliation. This tribe, encircling the Lebanon, had been the principal obstacle to the progress of the Emir of the Druzes, but they were nevertheless, because of their faith and turbulent habits, no acceptable auxiliaries to the Porte.

Fakreddeen, in close alliance with the Shaab of Waddy Teïm, had now extended his power almost to the ancient limits of the Princes of Gebail; that is to say, from the mountains above Tripoli to Safed and all the ports along the coast. The harbours he had filled up to prevent the entrance of the Turkish galleys: otherwise he protected commerce. He thus held a considerable portion of Syria, and hemmed in the Pashalic of Damascus on the west.

But the same fate awaited Fakreddeen that has always, sooner or later, overtaken the revolted Satraps of the Porte. That Government, patient to expect and dexterous to seize the moment when prosperity has lulled watchfulness and developed

license, at last fixed the mode and moment when he should be enveloped in the toils. Simultaneously troops were dispatched from Constantinople, and a contingent mustered from the neighbouring Pashas and tribes. Fakreddeen at once withdrew from the sea ports and cities, and shut himself up in the fortress of Iskiff. Youness, his brother, remained at Deir el Cammar, but being summoned to Saïda by the Pasha of Damascus, who had occupied that place, he did not think it prudent to disobey, and was decapitated. The fort in which the son of Fakreddeen had shut himself up was taken. The Pasha of Damascus marched to Deir el Cammar and conferred the government on Alemeddeen, who was connected by marriage with the ancient family of Tenhouk, which had preceded that of Maan in the emirship, and who had been despoiled by Fakreddeen of the provinces of Meten, Jurd and Garb. He then marched to invest Iskiff, whence by cutting off the supply of water he dislodged Fakreddeen, who took refuge in the rock fortress near Lezzin. On the place being mined he surrendered. He was sent with his three sons to Constantinople, and soon after pardoned.

In the mean time his nephew, Emir Melkem, who alone of all the family had escaped, succeeded in bringing about a revolution at Deir el Cammar, and in expelling the Governor set up by the Pasha of Damascus. The Porte on this put Fakreddeen and his sons to death. The troops of Damascus again

took the route of the Lebanon. The Shaab of Waddy Teïm were expelled, and the country given to the sons of Alemeddeen (Tenhouk) · A simple sheik was made Governor of Shouf; Kesroan was separated from it and placed under a chief of its own; the Shaab escaped to the neighbourhood of Aleppo. Soon after, however, Achmet, son of Emir Melkem and grand-nephew of Fakreddeen, regained the government of Shouf, and the Shaab returned to Waddy el Teïm. Achmet, a second time displaced by Alemeddeen, was a third time restored in 1698. He died at Dèir el Cammar without leaving male issue. The Tenhouk had already disappeared, Achmet having cut off every remaining member of that family. There still remained one single representative of the Maan, Emir Hassan, son of Fakreddeen. But the Porte had now resolved on the final exclusion of that family. Such were the results, first of the lust of pillage and then of the desire of conquest.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE SHAAB TO EMIR BESHIR.

THUS, after five centuries of peaceful and one century of agitated sway, the Maan at once descended from their state and disappeared from amongst men; the clouds of disgrace as well as of disaster closing over their tomb. The Emirs, the Sheiks, and the people of Lebanon had proved alike their inability to defend and to govern themselves. Their wealth and weakness invited, whilst their lawlessness seemed to require, the extension over them of the general administration of the empire and the substitution of the authority of a Valy (Pasha) for their local usages. The Porte nevertheless adhered to its secular maxims and its public faith; for, although we have no record of the transaction, on the imposition of tribute their ancient rights, liberties, and constitution had been guaranteed to them. It therefore left to them to fill up the void occasioned by the disappearance of the princely house, and accepted their choice, repugnant as that choice must have been.

It has been already narrated how the Shaab had been established as subordinate Princes in the

Waddy Teïm, in the year 1205, from which time they had uninterruptedly and by succession held that post. They had, however, during the course of the unhappy century now at its close, undergone the same change as the supreme rulers of the Lebanon; they had been engaged in the plots, usurpations and treasons of Fakreddeen, as in those which had followed his deposition. It was upon a member of this family that the election of the people now fell, and its acceptance by the Porte is a striking instance of that magnanimity which it has always, under similar circumstances, displayed.* I have given the account of the first introduction of the Shaab from the pen of their descendant; I will now have recourse to him for that of their elevation.

"A council was convened of the Sheiks and notables, that they might choose one to govern them, and their choice fell on Emir Beshir Shaab, of Hashbaya, who immediately came to Deir el Cammar, and entered it together with the Mufti, the Cadi, and the chief of the notables of Saïda, whom the Pasha had sent to enregister and estimate the property of the last of the Maan, which amounted to 150,000 piastres. The notables of Shouf wrote to Mustafa Pasha, praying him to grant the investiture to Emir Beshir, and to *surrender to him the*

* A recent instance presents itself in the case of Servia, when rather than interfere with a popular election, it prepared for war with Russia and Austria.

inheritance of his predecessors, engaging to become responsible for his regular payment of the tribute and the arrears. The Pasha did as was requested, and communicated these events to the Porte."

The words of history have a negative as well as a positive value. The flow of speech introduces the eloquence of silence. In this case the writer describes by this process the internal constitution of the country more explicitly than he could have done by any form of words. Whoever reads this passage with the eye of the mind will learn by its silence on the method of election, that up to this time the Lebanon remained in full possession of the elective faculties.

It is remarkable that, while up to this period neither the words Druze nor Christian are used, in the contests, which from this period become incessant, it is Druze chiefs who always appear dethroning and setting up princes—princes not of their race or people—and no mention is made of the Christians.

Emir Beshir, in taking possession of the inheritance of the Maan, had to surrender his paternal possessions. From this time the administration of the Waddy el Teïm, in the hands of another branch of the family, has remained distinct, except on one occasion, from that of the Lebanon. The authority of the new Emir extended over no more than the portion now included in the "Druze Caimacanship" and the Kesroan.

Two years, however, had scarcely elapsed when an occasion was offered to Emir Beshir for extending the power of the Prince of the Druzes over the original seat of the Princes of the Mirdites. Syria, after its conquest by Selim, had been divided into four Pashalics, Saïda, Tripoli, Damascus and Aleppo. The Shouf was under Saïda, and the limit between it and Tripoli fell on the coast north of Beyrout, at the river Adonis or Ibrahim. Gebail, Patroun, the Katan, and the other Maronite districts which extend as far as the Akkar on the north, thus belonged to Tripoli.

This division did not for the moment affect the administration of the Lebanon, reduced as its limits then were, and seemed to present an insuperable barrier to their re-extension; especially as a stranger population appeared to occupy that portion of the Lebanon now included in the Pashalic of Tripoli. It is of this population that we have now particularly to speak.

It has already been mentioned that the principal obstacle to the projects of Fakreddeen was the strength and hostility of the Metuali race, which lay both north and south of the Lebanon. Also that the Porte looked with little favour on the auxiliaries which it had found in this population. Whence it came, how it came, what its race, what its characters, and whence its name, have been matters of as much doubt and mystery as the Druzes themselves. To all inquiries respecting them, even on their imme-

diate borders, the only answers to be obtained were fables, revealing utter ignorance mixed with fear and hatred. This is certain, that they do not belong to the original people of the Lebanon, and that their introduction dates but from a recent period; certainly not before the fourteenth century, and more probably, or at all events principally, in the middle of the seventeenth. In their character, which combines dignity of manners, and pride of descent with ferocity and lawlessness of disposition, may be traced a derivation from a noble stock, and a succession of many generations of struggle, misery, and persecution. Historical circumstances justify by probabilities the inference, and suggest the process. In religion they are Shiïtes, in race Arabs. To this anomaly, which alone would render them unclassible, must be added another; that they have ceased to be nomades, without passing either into the condition of citizens or of mere cultivators, but hold the districts they inhabit as a feudally dominant class. They have lost the tribe character of a people; they have been prevented by their religious schism from being included in the administrative order of the Empire. Their position in the Lebanon was neither that of Princes called in to govern, as had been that of the Tenhouk, the Maan and the Shaabs, nor as that of a tribe which had displaced the original population and occupied the soil. The following explanation is, therefore, the only one which I find for that peculiar nature which they

exhibit, and the peculiar station which they hold. They are remnants of the Alides, driven from districts bordering on Persia; hated by the Persians as Arabs, and by the Turks and Arabs as Shiïtes, reaching successively the Lebanon as receiving shelter rather than as making conquests, because of the community in which they stood with both Druze and Maronite, in regard to the dominant races of the cities of the plains. Bearing their share in the contest of the times, the chiefs being warlike and their people united, they would naturally come to acquire that ascendancy in the districts they inhabited which would put them in a parallel position to that which the Druze Sheiks had acquired in the southern portion, over a population which was Maronite. The Metuali, at the present moment in Beled Bsharré, and exclusive of those of Baalbec and the Bkkaa, do not exceed 60,000. A township of 60,000 souls would have indeed little weight in England; but not so amongst such a population as I have been describing. At that time their numbers were larger.

Then, also, the tract of country occupied in fief by the Metuali far exceeded the possessions of the Emir Beshir; namely, the portion of the ancient Lebanon north of the river Ibrahim, amounting to one half of the whole; the Beled Bsharré, lying south of the Lebanon; whilst their principal seat, where they had been established from an early date, was

Baalbec; which exposed position, between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, they had been strong enough to maintain under all vicissitudes. Having of their own impulse opposed the ambition of the Druze leaders, having so essentially contributed by their sacrifices and efforts to the discomfiture of those Princes, having given to the Porte its triumph, and having occasioned the extinction of the House of Maan, the results which followed, namely, the liberty given to the people of the Lebanon to reconstitute themselves according to their own liking, could not fail to exasperate them. They had, moreover, to encourage them, the consciousness of their own strength and the evidence of the impunity that attended rebellion in the events of Deir El Cammar.

The consequence was, that the Metuali chiefs, subject to Tripoli, refused to pay their tribute, and, in like manner, tribute was refused by the Metuali chiefs subject to Saïda.

It was in the Tripoli Pashalic that the insurrection first broke out; each party soon feeling that he could more injure his rival than benefit himself, by common consent the Druze Emir was called in to adjust the difference. This was effected by the grant by the Pasha of the investitures to him, and the re-grant by him of the investitures to the Metuali chiefs. Considering that the mass of inhabitants were not Metuali, but Maronites or Druzes, this was the re-incorporation into the Lebanon of the district which had been included in the Pa-

shalic of Tripoli: for the Emir was now placed, in reference to those districts, in exactly the same position in which he already was, in reference to the Lebanon proper under the Pashalic of Saïda, where he re-invested the Druze Sheiks over a population nearly equally composed of Druzes and Maronites.

In the Beled Bsharré, similar circumstances were followed by the repetition of the same expedient, only that here investitures were not granted; but the Emir Beshir engaging for the payment of the tribute, became virtually the governor of the country; so throughout its whole extent, from Tripoli to Safed, the Lebanon became subject to his jurisdiction, in 1702.

After a comparatively tranquil reign of nine years, Emir Beshir was poisoned by Emir Hydar, who succeeded him; but he was stripped of the accessions of Metuali territory on the north and south. It was on this occasion that the government of Safed was conferred on Daher, the hero of Volney.

Soon after the Pasha of Saïda had reason to have again recourse to the Emir of the Druzes. The Metuali again refusing their tribute, they were again subjected to the government of Shouf, and Emir Hydar received the investiture of Beled Bsharré on the condition of acquiring it. He was successful in setting up as his delegate a Mussulman, named Mohamed Abou Kormanche. Proving not more punctual, the Emir attempted to remove him; but so well had he taken his measures with the Pasha

of Saïda, that instead of regaining the Beled Bsharré he lost the Lebanon. Abou Kormanche, with a firman of investiture from the Porte for the Beled Bsharré, supported by the Metuali, nothing loath to settle old scores with the Druzes, and aided by the troops of Saïda, and by partizans among the discontented Druzes, succeeded in overthrowing Emir Hydar: and established himself at Deir el Cammar, as Mahmoud *Pasha*. The Emir fled to Kesroan, but finding no support, concealed himself in grottoes and among rocks for a year, when he was able to reappear again at Deir el Cammar. Mahmoud Pasha was upset; and it being against the custom to put the Sheiks of Shouf* to death, he had his tongue cut out. The Pasha of Saïda confirmed the change, and re-invested Emir Hydar, doubling, on the fall of Mahmoud Pasha, the sum he had realized on his elevation.

Emir Hydar, to recompense the adherents by whose aid he had succeeded in expelling his dangerous rival, and to strengthen and combine the Sheik interest, in opposition to an innovation so alarming to all the classes holding station or power as the introduction of a Pasha, distributed among the Druze chiefs the district of which the Shaab had become possessed by the extinction of the two ancient and powerful families of Tenhouk and Alemeddeen. These concessions extended to nearly a

* How he had acquired the rights of Sheik of Shouf, being a Mussulman, does not appear.

third of the whole Druze country. The wisdom of the scheme under the circumstances cannot be denied, and receives a striking illustration in the consequences which attended the contrary operation, when put in practice with such apparent success by his great grand-nephew the late Emir Beshir. But had the people preserved their ancient character, the Shaab Prince might have assured the foundation of his family on materials little resembling that oligarchy, destitute of character and faith; tainted with meanness, soiled by crimes, and distinguished only by recklessness and cunning—which constitutes the class of Lebanon Sheiks from the middle of the seventeenth century.

The districts acquired and now renounced by the Shaab were the Jurd, Jezzin and Menassif, in which was situated the capital. The higher Garb was conferred on the Talhouk to balance the lower Garb, in possession of the Rosselan,* which was the only house of Sheiks in possession who had favoured the introduction of a Pasha.

Emir Hydar by these concessions aroused against himself the hatred of his own family. From one dangerous rival, in the person of his brother's son, he relieved himself by poison: another escaped the same fate by flight; and finally he had to resign the power he had regained in favour of his son Malkem. These circumstances had rendered it impossible for

* The present Caimacan of the Druzes is the representative of this house.

him to acquit his obligations to the Pasha of Saïda, and at his death one of his sons and several sons of the Sheiks were at Saïda, pledges for the payment of arrears.

Emir Malkem received in 1730 the investiture of Shouf: two years after that of the Beled Bsharré, and subjected to tribute, as his predecessors had twice already done, that turbulent people. Some excesses of the Druzes in the Bkkaa led to a rupture with the Pasha of Damascus, who sent an expedition against him. The Emir redeemed himself with 50,000 piastres.

The Pasha of Damascus, to detach so valuable a dependant from the Pasha of Saïda, conferred on him the government of Baalbec, the patrimony of the Metuali Sheiks. This operation was easier to plan than to execute, and the result was an open rupture between the Emir and his would-be patron. A defeat incurred by the troops of Damascus startled the indifference of the Porte, and stringent orders were dispatched to both Pashas to unite their forces against him. He was however saved by the opportune occurrence of a revolt at Damascus.

In 1750 he acquired possession of Beyrout by an arrangement with the Pasha of Saïda, which place remained 25 years under the Emirs. In 1752 he had another quarrel with the Pasha of Damascus, but was sustained by the Pasha of Saïda, on payment of 75,000 piastres. In 1754 the Sheiks set up against him his two brothers; he fled to

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Beyrout. Thence he dispatched his nephew Cassem to the former Pasha of Saïda, who had now become Grand Vizir, to solicit his own restoration and the investiture of Gebail for Cassem; further requesting that their provinces should be given to them and to their heirs in perpetuity. The Grand Vizir listened favourably to these proposals, but was too soon removed to take any step in consequence. Emir Malkem died at Beyrout in 1760. Emir Hydar sums up his sanguinary life in these words, "he killed a great many of the inhabitants of his province and of the neighbouring ones, and many villages were destroyed by the wars he carried on."

Mansour and Achmet, the brothers of Malkem, conceived themselves by his death relieved from the precariousness of their tenure. But the Grand Vizir, the friend of Malkem, had returned to power; and remembering Cassem, expedited a firman for his installation in the government of Shouf. The Pasha of Saïda prepared to support his pretensions, and had already furnished him with troops, when the two uncles addressed themselves to the Pasha, and by the payment of 50,000 piastres induced him to abandon the cause of Cassem, who thereupon proposed an accommodation; resigning his pretensions to the Shouf, he was made Governor of Gazir and received in marriage a daughter of Achmet; the fruit of this marriage was the celebrated Emir Beshir.

The brothers no sooner got rid of their nephew

than they armed against each other; Achmet was established at Deir el Cammar, Mansour at Beyrout. Their respective quarrels were espoused by the two factions into which the Druze Sheiks were then divided, in consequence of a blood feud between two families, and which were known by their names, the Yezbecki and the Jumbellati. The latter favoured Mansour, as also the Pasha of Saïda, and by his aid he was able to march to Deir el Cammar, from which Achmet, abandoned by his partizans, hastened to escape.

No sooner was he freed from this rival, than another appeared, by whom he was finally to be overthrown, though only after a prolonged struggle not of arms but artifice.

Emir Malkem had left a son named Jusuff, who had been received by the Pasha of Damascus, from whom he had requested the investiture of Gabail; as this province was under the Pasha of Tripoli, who was son to the Pasha of Damascus, the request was readily granted; and Jusuff was put in possession by troops from Tripoli, aided by the Christian population who rose upon the Metuali Sheiks. From that time the Emir Jusuff had his partizans, and openly aspired to the Princedom, whilst Emir Achmet, daily surrounded with intrigues and insurrections, found himself at last unable to carry on the government and surrendered his office to Jusuff in 1771. He had entertained a moment of hope from the march of Ali Bey and his Mamelukes into Syria, and had

hastened to invite them to the Lebanon; the failure of this expedition left him without any chance of escape or means of defence.

Emir Jusuff now added the government of Gebail to that of Shouf and of Beyrout; if his power was thus increased, so also was that of the enemy against whom it was soon to be employed. Already three pivots of quasi independent action were placed around the Lebanon, in the Pashalics of Saïda, Damascus and Tripoli. A new one was to be added in the rise of the power of Sheik Daher, aided by the Metuali; and a Pasha of a different temper was about to appear upon the scene, calling in the authority of the Porte in a manner not hitherto exerted in Syria. The affairs and personages of the Lebanon now emerged from the insignificance in which they had hitherto been shrouded, thanks to the pen of Volney and the fleets of Catherine.

The Sheik Daher had his seat at Safed, formerly a possession of the Druzes; his power could extend northwards only at their expense; the Metuali were their enemies and on that account his friends: between him and Jusuff there could only be war or truce, and he had already taken the aggressive, when the Emir received orders from the Porte to act in concert with the neighbouring Pasha against the rebellious Sheik. The Emir led an army against him and laid siege to Safed. Sheik Daher had appealed to the Empress Catherine, and she, eagerly seizing upon the favourable occasion of this

diversion, placed the Russian fleet at his disposal. Emir Jusuff was vulnerable by such an arm only in his port of Beyrout, which was consequently taken by the Russian Admiral; but after a few days restored, on the payment of a sum of money, and placed in the hands of Achmet Bey. This Achmet Bey was afterwards Jezzar Pasha (i. e. Butcher Pasha). The Emir, who had been called to Gebail by an attack or insurrection of the Metuali, on his return found the gates of Beyrout shut against him. Such was the first act in the long tragedy of the life of the future Pasha of Acre.

In the mean time, the wheel had gone round, the Sheik had found favour at the Porte, or from his Russian connection inspired alarms; and Jusuff obtained his aid in expelling his own servant from the city which he had lost in opposing him. The Sheik Daher now became Pasha of Saïda, and Jusuff was his dependant. Three years of repose were left to him, and then the Porte resumed its plans of vengeance, to accomplish which, as formerly in the case of the Lebanon, the forces of Egypt were called to her aid.

This interval was, as regards the Emir, filled up with a quarrel with the Pasha of Damascus, arising out of encroachments on the Bkkaa, during which Jusuff obtained the government of it for a few months. He afterward was involved in the schemes of Daher, and only by paying a large sum of

money, succeeded in comprising matters with the admiral Hassan Pasha.

The successor of Daher as Pasha of Saïda was no other than Achmet, the faithless lieutenant of the Emir Jusuff, who, thrown into consternation at the news of this appointment, obtained from Hassan Pasha the emancipation of Shouf from all dependance on the Pasha of Saïdà, except for the payment of the tribute. He also confirmed the Emir in the possession of Shouf, Gebail, the Bkkaa, and Beyrout. No sooner had Hassan Pasha and his fleet disappeared from the coast than Achmet Pasha (Jezzar) took possession of Beyrout, and demanded from the Emir three years of arrears, which had already been accounted for and settled with Hassan Pasha. The Emir despatched messengers in pursuit of the Admiral. They found him in Cyprus. He returned, reinstated the Emir in possession of Beyrout, and sailed forthwith: immediately Jezzar re-occupied Beyrout, which returned no more under the dominion of the chiefs of the mountain.

The next event—and these follow each other with such rapidity, and are so complicated in their threads and tortuous in their course, that it requires no slight strain upon the attention to follow them—is at an interval of eighteen months. Two pretenders are set up in the persons of two brothers of Jusuff. His own party, not strong enough to maintain him in Shouf, support him in Kesroan, whither he flies;

and a party, independent of all these, fatigued and exasperated, apply to Jezzar, and offer to put him in possession of the Lebanon. Jusuff gets possession of Gebail and the Bkkaa; his rivals drive him from the Bkkaa, and besiege him in Gebail; he makes his escape back into Shouf. There he enters into a composition with Jezzar for 100,000 piastres; his brothers, obtaining intelligence of the transaction, submit. This struggle is followed by numerous confiscations in the Bkkaa, Gebail, and Shouf. Two years after, the brothers, supported by the party Jumbellat, again revolted. Jusuff, having got possession of one of them, Emir Effendi, stabbed him with his own hand, and a new revolt bursting out, he put it down by the aid of the troops of Jezzar. This success cost him 300,000 piastres, which he managed to pay by confiscations and extortions.

In 1784, Jezzar ordered Emir Jusuff to take possession of the Merj Ajoun, which Emir Ismael of Hashbaya held in fief. Ismael repaired to Deir el Cammar to implore Emir Jusuff to intercede for him with the Pasha, and on his refusal he went himself to Jezzar, who not only granted his request, but conferred on him the government of Shouf, on his paying 300,000 piastres. Ismael immediately called to his aid Emir Achmet, brother of Jusuff, and who had already revolted and made his escape, when Emir Effendi fell by his brother's hand. Aided by the troops of the Pasha, they reached Deir el Cammar, and Jusuff took to flight. The

new princes, however, being powerless to raise the taxes, the Pasha made overtures to Emir Jusuff, who hastened to meet him at Beyrout; but instead of sending him to the mountain, he took him with him to Acre, on which the two Emirs regained heart, and sent to offer Jezzar 500,000 piastres for his head. He bid 1,000,000 for theirs. Jezzar immediately closed with him; and Jusuff sallied forth with the troops of Acre, and drove Ismael, not only from Shouf, but also from the Merj Ajoun and the Waddy Teïm. The ordinary confiscations and executions follow; heads fall, tongues are cut out, and eyes seared. Ismael, some time afterwards being taken, was poisoned, and Emir Achmet, treacherously delivered into his hands, had his eyes put out. Some years after (1788), Emir Jusuff inveigled the brother of Emir Ismael from Waddy el Teïm to Deir el Cammar, by a promise of pardon, and had him strangled.

The confiscations of his enemies' property, and the exactions to which he had recourse against the people, did not enable Emir Jusuff to discharge his debt to the Pasha within three years. There remained, in 1789, 150,000 piastres still due, and Jezzar, dissatisfied at such remissness, withdrew from him the Merj Ajoun and Waddy el Teïm. Jezzar had been three years before invested with the Pashalics of Damascus and Tripoli, in which he had placed two Mamelukes as his Lieutenants. These having entered into a conspiracy against him, the

Emir Jusuff joined them. Jezzar, having triumphed, turned his fury against the treacherous Jusuff; concentrating his forces round the mountains, the latter was abandoned by his adherents, and the Yezbecki faction, who had hitherto supported him, and rancorously pursued by the Jumbellati. He consequently effected his escape, leaving the field open to his nephew, Emir Beshir, who was in the ranks of Jezzar, and is supposed to have had no inconsiderable share in the fall of his uncle; lulling him into false security, and pretending to betray into his hands the troops he had obtained to secure him. Emir Beshir returned in triumph to St. Jean d'Acre to receive the investiture, surrounded by the Jumbellati, the Abou Niket, and all the Sheiks of both factions; who seemed to have forgotten their dissensions, and laid aside their rancour to raise to power a young prince of so great promise.

Emir Jusuff first fled to Meten; driven thence, he wandered for some time in the secluded rocks of Gebail; thence he got away to the Hauran. Then again finding no rest, he made his way to Acre, and threw himself on the mercy of the capricious Jezzar, who had so often lifted him up, and so often cast him down, and who might find him still a convenient instrument against his nephew. Emir Beshir, on hearing of his arrival, instantly repaired to Acre, and managed so well that he was put in irons, and soon after strangled, Jezzar pocketing on the transaction 600,000 piastres, at that time of

the value of about £30,000. His Government had endured twenty-six years, and he left behind him two sons.

NOTE.—"The fleets of Catherine," p. 104. It was the diversion occasioned by this fleet in the south which determined the unfavourable issue of the contest on the Danube. The appearance of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean excited the alarms of the various Governments, and the apprehensions of the populations of Italy, who dreaded the entry of these vessels into their ports. (*See* Annual Register for 1799.) That fleet would never have reached the Mediterranean without the aid of England, and would, when there, have been sunk by the French, but for the protection of England.—*See* De Broglie, *Politique des Cabinets de l'Europe*, t. 11, p. 43, ed. 1794, Hamburg.

CHAPTER XII.

ADMINISTRATION OF EMIR BESHIR TO THE DEATH OF JEZZAR PASHA.

WE have now arrived at the accession of a Prince who has played a great part, not merely in the affairs of his country but in those of the world. But the extent to which he has influenced those affairs is not known nor even suspected. By the process which he adopted for recasting the internal government, he has appeared to be the renovater of his native land; in consequence of which, it seemed to have acquired a commanding influence, whilst he himself ascended to a station of consideration and power altogether disproportioned to the numbers of his people and the extent of his territory. But in reality the influence which he exercised was a desolating one for the Lebanon. He ended by extinguishing the family of the Shaab, and at the same time extinguishing the Lebanon.

Through the very process by which these disastrous results were brought about at home, he converted his principality into the fulcrum on which was placed the lever, to be used for the disruption of the Empire to which it belonged: and thereby

prepared it to become at once the apple of discord cast to the nations of the West, and the field on which they were to be convoked to a new crusade, not against any common enemy; but to become the prey, the one of the other.

Without the domestic schemes of Emir Beshir the siege of Acre by Mehemet Ali Pasha would never have taken place. Without the apostasy of Emir Beshir the occupation of Syria by Mehemet Ali never would have taken place. Without these three antecedent occurrences the Syrian intervention of 1840 would not have taken place. Without these four events the closing the Dardanelles by treaty in 1841 never would have taken place. Without these five events the imposition of prohibitory duties upon its own exports by the Turkish Government, in a Treaty forced upon her by England, never would have taken place. Without these six events religious wars of extermination could not have been introduced into the Lebanon, nor England and France rendered the partizans severally of the so excited factions. And so under a bitterer feeling, with weaker minds and more dangerous circumstances, the Lebanon would not have been made for England and France what Sicily in a former age became for Carthage and Rome.

When the end will have come and be known, when the historian will be applying himself to discover by what means, incidents and devious courses it has been accomplished, then may be appre-

heńded,—not until then, will be suspected—the part which this weak intriguer has played in the affairs of the world.

The narrative of events during that melancholy period which commenced with the accession of Emir Kerkmass, and which has gone on deepening in gloom and atrocity down to the close of the career of Emir Jusuff, present the Lebanon on the accession of Emir Beshir as a sink of unheard-of villany, a spectacle of unparalleled misery, a blot upon the page of history, and a libel on the very nature of man.

It may well be matter of surprise how the country, exposed to such vicissitudes and inhabited by a people so faithless and bloodthirsty, should not have been entirely depopulated, and how it should, on the contrary, present the dense population and the industrious culture which continue to distinguish and embellish its rocky face even to this day. But in truth the people remained comparatively a stranger to these changes. The Princes generally fled without a struggle, and hostile bodies when in presence watched each other, manœuvred from terrace to terrace, till the one having got a position of advantage or received a reinforcement, the other gave way. The blood that then flowed and the confiscations that ensued fell upon the partizans of the defeated party; the people noted the change only by the exactions to which they were subjected. These were indeed severe, but their effects were

easily reparable. The Lebanon as yet suffered only from the transitory violences of men, not from the undying perversion of legislators. Produce might be destrained when in the store, wealth extracted from the chest, but debt did not overlie future industry, nor fiscal regulations compress the energies of man. It was robbery only they were exposed to; they did not as yet know a tariff.

The position of the Christians was greatly improved during the administration of Jusuff. The aristocracy, the instruments and victims of these unceasing troubles, have hitherto been entirely Druze. The Christians were comparatively unconcerned. Employed as agents and farmers they increased in wealth and consideration; and in the misfortunes and confications of their masters, ended by possessing the lands they had cultivated for them.

In the Kesroan, Christians gradually assumed the station of Sheiks. Proselytism not being admitted by the Druzes, every religious change was in favour of the Christians, and the family of Emir Hydar had openly adopted the Christian faith.

Another change was the expulsion of the Metuali, who held the Christians of the north in subjection; they, having aided in establishing in that region the authority of the Emir, became associated with his power, and consequently the objects of his protection. Besides, during the greater portion of the rule of Jusuff, his affairs had been managed by a Maronite priest of great dexterity; who, with op-

portunities of no ordinary kind for promoting his designs, incessantly laboured for the advancement of his co-religionaries.

The promise which the character of the young prince held out, the union manifested among the factions, were of equally short duration. No sooner did the new Emir commence taking measures for discharging to Jezzar the price of his uncle's head, than all was confusion; the Mountain rose against him; his partizans, excepting the Jumbellat, abandoned him. He was unable to make so much as a stand, and fled to Saïda. Jezzar sent him back to push his fortune at the head of 1200 men; the chiefs of the insurrection, the brother and nephew of Emir Jusuff, were about to embark at Beyrout, when a success obtained by Sheik Beshir, who, though son of the Jumbellat chief, had joined the other party, reanimated the Druze chiefs and united the Jumbellat districts, which alone had hitherto favoured Emir Beshir, with the rest of the Mountain. The Pasha of Acre, disconcerted by this resistance, recalled his troops and sent Emir Beshir with a modest pension to await at Saïda the turn of events.

(1793.) After some months of anarchy, the Sheiks proposed to Jezzar to confer the investiture on the two leaders of the revolt, the brother and nephew of Sheik Jusuff, Emirs Hydar and Cassim, offering to pay him thereupon 2,000,000 piastres (£110,000). The two chiefs were, however, unable to manage

their people or to raise the money; and such were the disorders within and the ravages committed by them around, that Jezzar bethought himself of a new expedient. The Lebanon, not producing more than three months of its consumption of grain, he proposed to starve them into submission by blockade. Another event came to shake the power of the Emirs; the defection of Sheik Beshir, who was afterwards to play so important a part. Conceiving that his claims and important services were overlooked, and disappointed in the results of the change he had himself brought about by abandoning the party to which his family was attached, he turned his eyes again to Emir Beshir, and concerted measures with him for his restoration. Things were not, however, ripe for such a revolution; too many feared his vengeance, and a middle course was adopted by the Emirs themselves., who sent secretly to Jezzar to negociate for their own supercession by the sons of Emir Jusuff, and succeeded, on the payment of 100,000 piastres.

The sons of Jusuff were joined by the late Emirs, and their party had taken possession of their new offices to the apparent contentment of the people, when unexpectedly Sheik Beshir, who had collected his adherents, fell upon them, killed several of their relations and burnt and ruined their houses. The indignation aroused by this treachery forced Sheik Beshir to fly to the Hauran, and his serai of Muchtara and the houses and properties of his

relatives were in turn delivered to pillage and the flames. Emir Beshir, as the source of these troubles, was removed by Jezzar from the neighbourhood of the Mountain and sent from Saïda to Nazareth. He had however already profited by his time and occasions, and had regained many of the chiefs opposed to him; notably the Bellarmy and the Amad. Thus fortified, he went from Nazareth to meet Jezzar on his return from the Hadj (pilgrimage), and it was settled between them that Sheik Beshir should be pardoned and Emir Beshir reinvested; which consequently took place in 1794. The family of Jusuff fled before him; Abou Niket, the only chief who espoused their cause, was made Mucataji of Meten, the only district which had afforded them a refuge. The transaction closed as usual with an adjustment of accounts; 50,000 piastres purchased the pardon of the chiefs and Meten paid the expenses of the war.

The Mountain seemed now to have escaped from its trials, and it might have been expected that Prince and people, instructed by past experience, would have desisted from strifes in which all possessed the power of inflicting injury while none could expect to reap benefit. I say, it might have been expected, but not in the Lebanon, where that alone is counted gain which wounds a foe.

A few weeks had scarcely elapsed from the fall of the sons of Jusuff and the elevation of Emir Beshir, when the sons of Jusuff were again in

power, and Emir Beshir and Sheik Beshir in irons in the dungeon of Jezzar. Then fly to the Hauran the Amad and the Jumbellat. Again Muchtara is in flames and the Shouf is made to endure the same devastation as that which just before had overtaken Meten.

In a year the land was ripe again with a harvest of disorder. Emir Beshir and his brother are let loose from their prison, they receive conjointly the pelisses of investiture; their children are retained as hostages, and they are sent to the mountain again to make their way; which was not on this occasion so easy, or had not been so well prepared. The Bellarmy, part of the Jumbellat, and the Abou Niket adhere to the party of the sons of Jusuff, who, unable to stand in Shouf, make good their ground in Gebail, where they had property and partizans. The cause of their unexpected resistance is to be found in the jealousy of the Pasha of Tripoli, whose troops advanced to their support. This support however did not avail them long; a dispersion ensued, and the Abou Niket repaired to Deir el Cammar and threw themselves on the mercy of the conqueror.

The re-accession of Emir Beshir was followed and marked by an event which might arrest attention by its atrocity in the history of any other people. This event was the massacre of the Abou Niket (1797). Emir Beshir had them informed, that his brother Emir Hassan was kindly disposed towards them,

had interceded for them with him, and that he was disposed to admit them to favour on conditions, which he invited them to Ibtedeen* to settle. They came without suspicion and were received by Emir Hassan, with whom the terms of their reconciliation were settled. In the mean time the doors of the palace were closed, the avenues secured and Emir Hassan withdrew. Sheik Beshir and the Sheiks of the Amad entered the apartment, and causing the Abou Niket to go out one by one, stabbed them. Emir Beshir sent instantly to Abaye to take possession of their property and secure their children. Four of these were brought to Ibtedeen and imprisoned. Some time afterwards the Amad entered their prison and put them to death. Two boys however were carried to Damascus and alone survive of these Abencerages of the mountain; the one, Hamoud, is actually banished for the murder of a Catholic priest at Abaye; the other, Nasif, is at present one of the chiefs of most importance as balancing the power of the Jumbellat, and as being the only man of capacity amongst the Druzes. The villages, lands, houses, and moveables of the Abou Niket became the recompense of the Jumbellat and the Amad.

These measures struck with terror the chiefs and people, and the authority of Emir Beshir seemed after these incessant oscillations to be firmly estab-

* The palace of the Emir which stands on a hill overlooking Deir el Cammar.

lished; when the Lebanon, in common with the whole of Syria, was thrown into convulsion by the startling intelligence of the disembarkation of a powerful French army at Alexandria, which, after brilliant and rapid victories over the Mamelukes, entered Syria and laid siege to Jezzar at Acre.

Throughout Europe the displacement of the social basis in each country has to be traced back to a movement of France; to the presence of her armies, not simply as armies conquering, but as having been the occasion of promulgating metaphorical expressions, which were taken by the various people as grounds for subverting their institutions and their habits, and casting themselves upon a sea of idle speculation. In Europe, this point of departure, by those who cannot look into the diplomatically originating causes, may be taken as accident. France was at war; France conquered; France revolutionized herself; France revolutionized others. Not so in Egypt and in Syria. The disturbance of these countries sprung directly from England. Had India been under the rule of native chiefs; or had the dominion of the western masters of India been held to be firm, no French guns would ever have been pointed against Acre. As the despoiling England of her Indian dominions must remain a primary object for any individual ambition developed on a large scale in Europe, as well as for any pre-eminent system of ambition which may be, or is, instituted here, the whole of the countries which intervene

between the Indus and the Mediterranean or Black Seas, are exposed alike to convulsion by violence and subversion by intrigue. Nor is, indeed, the limit of this influence restricted to these bounds. When Napoleon pointed to the then not accomplished subjugation and incorporation of Poland, as the first step of Russia towards the dominion of India, he indicated this process as acting upon the Poles. The self-same consideration bears on every other people; on the Hungarians and on the Afghans; on the Italians and on Circassia; on the people of Spain as well as on the people of Germany; and on the United States as well as upon England and France. There can be no security, no repose for Europe, save in as far as England's hold upon India is so firm that the project of shaking it cannot be entertained. And England's hold upon India cannot be secure until she takes the measures in Europe as well as in India, necessary for the counteracting of those undertaken to dispossess her. In regard to the Lebanon her task would have been accomplished, had the purposes of the then Government been respected by her subordinate commanders. What she had to do in every case was the same. Not to meddle; and not to endure intermeddling. She did arrest in Egypt the designs of Napoleon on India; and she did restore the Egypt she had conquered to the Porte, without being then insane enough to meddle in its internal concerns. We will see how her servants acted in the Lebanon.

The Metuali, who had suffered severely from the Pasha, looked on the French as deliverers, and hastened to join their standard. But Emir Beshir, who depended entirely upon him, looked of course with terror on the French, and returned no answer to the invitations and appeals addressed to him in the name of Christianity and independence. At this time the Emir had become a Christian, although he continued ostensibly the profession of Islam.

But if the Emir turned a deaf ear to the solicitations of Buonaparte, he was equally insensible to those of Jezzar; to the latter he alleged the disturbed state of the mountain as putting it out of his power to render him any aid. While the issue was uncertain, he sought to avoid compromising himself with either; which was being guilty of treachery to his legitimate superior, to whose vengeance he became exposed on the retreat of the French army.

From this danger he was rescued by the timely presence of Sir Sidney Smith, who, paying a visit to Deir el Cammar, was easily worked upon, and made himself the advocate of the Emir with Jezzar. Some time afterwards, the Emir, not satisfied with the state of the negociations, requested a meeting with the English "Admiral," whose squadron was anchored off Beyrout. The interview took place near Abaye, and the Emir succeeded so well in captivating the English Commodore, that he gave

him a pledge that he would never suffer the government of the Lebanon to be withdrawn from him.

From the conduct observed by the English Government in reference to Egypt, it is evident that Sir Sidney Smith could have acted upon no instructions, but must have acted contrary to his instructions, when he presumed to dictate in the affairs of Syria, and when he selected for the object of his patronage, a rebel tainted with every crime.

Sir Sidney Smith was as good as his word, and warmly urged on Jezzar the cause of the Emir. Jezzar would listen to no terms, and would show no mercy. Sir Sidney Smith left Acre furious, and declaring that the displacement of the Emir would be a *casus belli* with Great Britain.

No sooner had the English fleet left, than Jezzar announced his intention of setting up again the sons of Jusuff. But the Grand Vizir, in command of the army engaged against the French, had entered Syria. To him the Emir addressed himself; his remonstrances were backed by a present of 100,000 piastres, and a large supply of provisions for his troops. By these means, and the influence of Sir Sidney Smith, he was received into favour, and had conferred upon him by the Sadrazem the government of the Lebanon, Baalbeç, the Bkkaa, Waddy el Teïm, and the Beled Bsharré; with the assurance that his authority should be placed on the footing of that formerly exerted by Fakreddeen.

Jezzar answered the firman of the Vizir by the

investiture of the sons of Jusuff, in favour of whom the whole of the Sheiks declared, with the exception of the Jumbellat. The Emir was about to fly to the Hauran, when his hopes and courage were renewed by the following letter:—

"My Brother and well loved Friend,

"I have learnt all that Achmet Pasha el Jezzar has done against thee. I have learnt that he has driven thee from the Government conferred on thee by the Ottoman Porte, and that he has put in thy place the sons of Emir Jusuff. I immediately prepared to go to Gaza to see our brother, the Grand Vizir. I hope that thou wilt soon receive from me letters that will fill thee with joy. Do not believe, my brother and friend, that my letters have failed by any other cause save the numerous battles and great fatigues which I have had to undergo at Aboukir and Alexandria; and all that on account of the failure of Jezzar to send me the ammunition and provisions he had engaged to furnish: he has become my enemy, and the enemy of the Porte; for by the treaties that unite us, the enemy and friend of the one becomes the enemy and friend of the other. My brother, be not troubled; if God all powerful permits it, soon you will enjoy all you desire. I have left thee one of my vessels at Beyrout, which will aid thee in all thou mayest require. I know well that some of the evil disposed who are about thee will furnish to Jezzar a copy of this letter—but by the time he will see it—chastisement will have fallen on his head.

"I salute thee,

"SIDNEY SMITH."

"The Damour, the 5th of Ranoun el Evel." (5th Dec. 1802.)

Sir Sidney Smith certainly lived before his time: it was for this age he was fitted, and into it he ought to have been born.

Shortly afterwards, the Emir, conducted by the

English consul of Tripoli, embarked on board an English vessel of war, joined the Commodore, and was by him taken to the camp of the Grand Vizir, at El Arish. Tents were prepared for the Emir and the Commodore, and the latter introduced the former to the Grand Vizir in these terms:

"Whilst I was at the siege of Acre, I observed in this Emir great courage; it is he who saved Syria from the French, and has preserved it to his Highness Sultan Selim; his reputation has reached the ears of the King of Great Britain."

The Grand Vizir answered: "Our friend has said what is true; this Emir is one of the first servants of the Porte, and I shall take means for his restoration, so soon as the French are driven out of Egypt."

Whilst the Emir was at El Arish, and cruising with the English squadron, Sheik Beshir was at work in the Lebanon. A revolt had broken out in Meten. The Emir was landed from an English vessel near Tripoli, and soon found adherents in the Kesroan. Among the first to join him were the two surviving scions of the house of Abou Niket! The sons of Jusuff, terrified at these events, had recourse to Jezzar, who sent them troops. The struggle that ensued was sanguinary beyond comparison, but futile in results. The Emirs in possession could not dislodge their rival; nor he advance into their districts. So they were reduced to a compromise, which left the country without a government. The

sons of Jusuff retired to Gebail; Emir Beshir settled in the Meten.

This interregnum saw several pretenders arise. Three Shaabs received the investiture from Jezzar, without being able to exercise any authority. A series of movements of chiefs and sheiks from one side to the other ensued; the enemy of to-day becoming the friend of to-morrow. The partisans of the sons of Jusuff presently appear as those of Emir Beshir, and those of the latter become the allies of the former. At length a memorial, signed by the great majority, was addressed to Jezzar, praying for the restoration of Emir Beshir. The Pasha of Acre, feigning or feeling sufficient respect for this document to forego his animosity, invested, for the fourth time, Emir Beshir with the government of Lebanon, and soon after died.

CHAPTER XIII.

ADMINISTRATION OF EMIR BESHIR TO THE DEATH OF SULEYMAN PASHA.

THE death of the fortunate and dexterous "butcher" threw Syria into disorder, and gave scope for a game of intrigue, in which Emir Beshir, without apparently playing a prominent part, succeeded as heretofore in securing the chief advantages. Jezzar had had the Pashalics of Tripoli and Damascus united in his person with that of Acre. The two former posts he had filled with slaves of his own, who, as we have seen, conspired against him, and besieged him in Acre. Emir Beshir had entered into their views, and had since maintained a secret intelligence with Suleyman, Pasha of Damascus, who had managed to maintain himself to the time of the death of Jezzar. On that event one of his dependents, named Ismaël, conceived the project of possessing himself of his inheritance; and resolved to keep Acre for himself. The Porte, in anticipation of such an event, had, previously to the death of Jezzar, expedited a firman to Ibrahim Pasha, of Aleppo, putting him in possession of all the governments held by Jezzar, to be used at his death. Suleyman Pasha had already declared against

Ismaël, and sought to secure himself at the Porte by enforcing its authority against his former colleague. Emir Beshir declared in his favour; and Ismaël, consequently, called to Acre from the Hauran, where they had taken refuge, two Shaab Emirs, who in the recent interregnum had been set up for a moment in the Shouf.

The Pashas of Aleppo and Damascus now advanced against Ismaël, and shut him up in Acre, before which place they sat down. They summoned Emir Beshir with his contingent of troops; but he, according to his custom, would not compromise himself against Ismaël, who might in the end be successful; and though he repaired with some troops to Acre, he kept at a cautious distance; and excused himself from paying his respects to the Vizir of Aleppo, by declaring that he had made a vow, after having been put in irons by Jezzar, never again to visit a Pasha of the Porte. The Pasha was pleased to accept the excuse, and ordered him to Djouni,* probably expecting thereby to keep him out of the way of mischief. The Porte, in the mean time, had despatched a commissioner, Ragheb Effendi, to watch the operations in Syria. Dissatisfied with Ibrahim Pasha he entered into relations with Emir Beshir, who, it is supposed, found thus the means of getting Suleyman Pasha, his old friend, substituted for Ibrahim Pasha as the new Governor of Acre.

* The subsequent residence of Lady Hester Stanhope.

Ragheb Effendi, after these interviews, left for Constantinople, and soon returned with the firman of investiture for the Pasha and a Vizerial letter for Emir Beshir, recalling the promises made to him at El Arish, assuring him that they would be kept so soon as circumstances permitted.

On the fall of St. Jean d'Acre, Suleyman Pasha signalized his gratitude by restoring to Emir Beshir the bonds of the Emirs of the Shaab family, given to Jezzar,* either to purchase out rivals or to buy in themselves; and which amounted to the enormous sum of 18,000,000 piastres. The investiture was accorded to him for the first time as "*Emir of the country of the Druzes.*" The Emir signalized this name by reducing to a condition which released him from future inquietude, the Christian district of Meten, which, during the last few years, had commenced to take part in the feuds of the Sheiks; and where two Christian families had sprung up to a sort of equality with the Druze aristocracy. These were named Hatoun and Hantar. He cut down their plantations, levelled their dwellings, put to death the persons most obnoxious, and raised a contribution of 15,000 piastres on the district, which he transmitted to Suleyman Pasha; and so fortified was he now by the protection of the Pasha who owed to him his rise, that the Amad family,

* He was in the habit of retaining the bonds though the debt was discharged.

recollecting the fate of the Abou Niket, after they had lent their hands to his purposes, despairing of safety, fled the country and took refuge in Egypt. Such were the benefits which the Christians owed to the first Christian prince set over them.

His principal source of alarm was now the sons of his uncle, who had so often already driven him from power; and he determined to deal with them as with Abou Niket. It was true they were not within the limits of his government, and held Gebail under either the Pasha of Tripoli or of Damascus. The Emirs were not distinguished by any capacity, and the strength of their party resided in a Christian, George Baz, devoted to their interests, a man of remarkable daring, dexterity, and cunning. He had secured to himself partizans not only in Shouf but in Damascus and Acre, and resided, not with his pupils, but at Deir el Cammar, whence he could more securely plot the overthrow of the Emir. He had a brother, a man scarcely less able than himself, who remained with the Emirs at Gebail. The enterprise was therefore one which presented no ordinary difficulty, as it was requisite to secure Baz and his brother as well as the sons of Jusuff. At that time the Talhouk and the Abdelmalek were in disgrace and expelled from their districts. The Emir sent for them and proposed to them, as the condition of their restoration, that they should repair to Gazir to his brother Hassan, and engage to execute whatever orders they should receive from

him. They, fully understanding the nature of the service required, closed with these terms and proceeded to Gazir. Emir Hassan accompanied them to Gebail, where, entering as travellers, they suddenly surrounded the house of the brother of Baz. He attempted to escape from a window, but fell and broke his leg, and was instantly dispatched by the conspirators. Meantime Emir Hassan secured the two sons of Jusuff, with a younger brother, and, without meeting any resistance, carried them off.

The same day, at Deir el Cammar, Emir Beshir sent for George Baz; received him with extraordinary kindness, passed him over to Sheik Beshir, who, at the very hour that the Abdelmalek and the Talhouk were dispatching his brother at Gebail, strangled him and threw out his body into the streets for the dogs to feed on. On this the Emir, becoming alarmed lest the plot at Gebail should have failed, took horse and proceeded thither. On the way he met the messenger bringing him the joyful intelligence of its entire success; he therefore returned in peace, sending back by the messenger an order to put out the eyes of his cousins. They were placed under ward and forbidden to marry; their property was confiscated, and the investiture of Gebail was obtained, through the influence of Suleyman Pasha, for his son Cassim.

In other countries tyrants have succeeded in eradicating families possessed of influence; but no where else has been seen an aristocracy lending its

own hand for the extirpation of its several members. Princes who have succeeded in such a policy have commenced by raising mercenary troops; they have enrolled felons and emptied jails; or they have used the animosities of other classes; or called in strangers destitute of all connection with their victims. On the rare occasions when such tragedies have disgraced human nature, the field has been wide, the affairs complicated; distance, doubt, suspense, have suffered dexterous guilt to walk securely, and attain its ends before its purpose was known or its approach apprehended. Here no mercenaries are required. The Mograbins of Jezzar are not called in; no secret assassin engaged; no poison mixed; no mask held up. The case is common for all: yet all the parties involved might be gathered round one dinner table; every individual is known to every other individual; the scene on which are condensed all the crimes of the Eastern Empire under the Comneni and the Palæologi, is a morning's ride.

The Emir has to deal neither with factions nor classes, but with a party of gamblers. They stretch out their hands to him for the dice and the cards, and his business is to cog the one, and to prick the other. The stakes for which they throw are the vines of a neighbour, not to enjoy, but to dig up; his mulberries, to hack; his terraces, to level; his canals, to break down; his house, to set fire to; his eyes to put out, and his throat to strangle. If the work ceases for a time, suddenly it recurs without

apparent cause, as if springing from a periodical necessity, giving to the annals of their country a harmonious march of atrocity: no season lacking its expelled Prince, its stabbed rival, its ravaged district. Never does the drama derogate from its claims of style—passion and necessity—by the interference of mean and private ends, such as the setting up of one of themselves. The Emir must be a Shaab; the Emir is to be cast down; the Pretender is a Shaab. To that station, the weakest child bearing the name, is carried by the revulsion of faction or the caprice of passion; and he puts to flight the Prince bearing the same name, who may have twenty times triumphed with or over them. It was neither an effort of genius nor a stretch of imagination for Emir Beshir to say to himself, "I will get rid of them all."

(1808.) The blows which had been struck at the different families of Sheiks had each returned to the Emir a double profit; the succession of him on whom it fell, the obloquy of him who levelled it. The continuance of the process and the envelopment therein of every single family of notables, had placed the Sheiks in this position, that, through their mutual wrongs and suspicions, they were incapable of concert as a class for their own protection. They were destitute of support on the part of the people, to whom they were objects of abhorrence from their character, and of hatred from their acts. Thus it was that the Emir in the

accomplishment of his great design made no appeal for foreign aid, and had no recourse to secret means. The work had indeed, though partially, accomplished itself before the general design had to be considered. The Abou Niket were rooted out; the Amad had fled; and with the extinction of the house of Jusuff these two confiscations might be considered as ensured. The plan of exterminating the Sheiks could not be devised as such until the Shaab family ceased to afford ready rivals, by the extinction of the elder branch (that of Jusuff) and by the disqualification of his own, the junior branch, through a cause which indeed was common to himself, but which he so managed as to render repressive against them; namely, by their apostacy from the faith (that of Islam), to the profession of which, the family owed its elevation to the Emirship.

The most remarkable feature in this operation is Sheik Beshir. He was a Druze Sheik, the head of the Jumbellat; and at once incomparably the ablest and the wealthiest man in the country. It was his adherence to Emir Beshir that alone sustained the latter in the country; and sustaining him he managed him and used him for his own ends. He stood at the head of the Sheiks, and the destruction and extinction of the Sheiks was the aim and end of the administration of Emir Beshir. But Sheik Beshir was engaged in the operation by circumstances, and before the plan was conceived, he

had dipped his hand successively in the blood of each victim. When the moment came for him to decide whether he should go on or draw back, it was too late to deliberate; or he may have seen the future means of turning to his own profit the contemplated operation. As a Sheik and as a Druze he could not aspire to the Emirship. But from the moment that the Emir himself had become Christian, that Emir continued to rule only on a false pretence. Sheik Beshir was in the confidence of the secret, and was careful to preserve it. The day might come when Emir Beshir, by the destruction of the Sheiks having become sole master at home, would alarm the Porte by intrigues and enterprises abroad; and what would then prevent Sheik Jumbellat, after denouncing the apostacy of his master, from professing Islam, and finding himself Mussulman Emir of the Mountain? At all events, it is impossible that Sheik Beshir should, after the extinction of the line of Jusuff, have engaged in the scheme of extinguishing the Sheiks, if he had looked to no more than the accumulation of the profits in the hand of Emir Beshir.

From this period for fifteen years domestic repose prevailed. This truce from family plots was owing, in a great measure, to the accession of his creature Suleyman Pasha to the Pashalic of Acre. The interval was used with remarkable caution; the people were rendered familiar with his sons as Mucatajis in the room of those families that had

been displaced. The intermediary organization was insensibly superseded by his own direct intervention in all affairs; while he amassed treasure, he loyally distributed justice. The Sheiks still undeposed were restrained within limits by his authority, and the cessation of the previous incessant feuds relieved them from the accompanying charges, exactions and alarms; so that the country enjoyed prosperity, and magnified the Emir.

(1810.) Suleyman as Pasha of Acre would have been unable, whatever his intentions or obligations, to have afforded tranquillity to the Lebanon, since the Pasha of Damascus had equally a power of disturbing it. But, two years after his nomination to Acre, he was aggrandised by having the Pashalic of Damascus also conferred upon him. An incursion of the Arabs, which the former Pasha of Damascus had been unable to check, had alarmed the Porte for the eastern portions of the Empire, while it was without forces to dispatch for its defence; being at once at war with England and with Russia. The whole power of the latter was lying on her northern frontier, and she was exposed to attack from the former on every portion of her coast, from Dalmatia to Alexandria, where a landing could be effected by troops.

In this extremity the Porte turned its eyes on the Pasha of Acre as a fit person to secure Syria, and invested him with the Pashalic of Damascus, leaving it however to himself to supply the means

of putting its decree into execution. The war now declared between the Pashas of Acre and Damascus opened an immense field to Emir Beshir. To his sagacity no less than to his contingent of men and contributions in stores, was Suleyman indebted for success. They entered Damascus in triumph together. The Emir had for his share of the spoils the investiture of the Bkkaa (for his second son Halil) and the confirmation of the Lebanon *for life.* The condition however was appended, of a yearly investiture, and the faithful execution of his engagements. In the eyes of the people, as in those of the Porte, he rose to a position of new and vast importance, and having so achieved power at home and fame abroad, he undertook useful works, built bridges over rivers, and reared in the palace of Ibtedeen a rival to the Alhambra. Warring chiefs from afar sought his arbitration, and "never before had there been in the Mountain a prince so glorious and powerful."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CONNECTION OF EMIR BESHIR WITH MEHEMET ALI.

(1819.) On the death of Suleyman Pasha, Abdallah became Pasha of Acre and Tripoli.; Then it appeared that the blood he had shed, the influence he had acquired, the repose he had enjoyed, served nothing to the Emir, as soon as this prop was removed. The catastrophes of the time of Jezzar reappear; he is again and again driven forth with as much ease as ever, to return with the same facility.

(1821.) A year from the death of Suleyman Pasha had not elapsed when a conspiracy was formed by the two remaining members of the house of Niket and the Amad who had massacred the rest of them. They were joined by the Abdelmalek and the Telhouk, who had embrued their hands in the blood of the brothers Baz, and had blinded the sons of Jusuff. The Prince against whom they conspire was the accomplice of each in these crimes. The Amad were not in the Lebanon; but having returned from Egypt had settled themselves at Damascus, whence this plot was conducted; it was nowever discovered in time and disconcerted. The

conspirators had to fly; but pursued by the rancour of the Emir from place to place, they only found a refuge in the wastes of the Hauran. Their families were formally deposed from the government of the districts which were held to belong to them, and in their persons the whole faction of the Yezbecki were smitten with confiscation.

Abdallah Pasha had taken no ostensible part in this transaction, but required on its conclusion, as the price of his neutrality, 1,000,000 piastres. The Emir resisted the demand. The Pasha blockaded the Mountain. The Emir, reduced to new straits, submitted; and attempted to make Meten the sacrifice, by imposing on it the required contribution. But Meten demanded that the Druzes should pay their proportion. The Emir made concessions which did not satisfy, and therefore encouraged them. The priests took part in the quarrel and the people flew to arms. For the first time a Christian, Ayan, appeared at the head of a movement of the Sheiks of the Mountain. The expelled Sheiks quitted their retreat in the Hauran, and appeared at Acre; the movement of the Christians was combined with the Druze Sheiks and supported by Abdallah Pasha. Emir Beshir, losing heart, wrote to the Pasha that he would abandon the Mountain; and, after in vain attempting to find a refuge among his relations, in the Waddy el Teïm, followed the traces of the Abdelmalek and the Talhouk to the Hauran, and with his family, Sheik Beshir, and

those attached to his fortunes, returned to the wandering life which his fathers had led in the same region eight hundred years before. The two pretenders, Emirs Hassan and Selman, who first appeared during the interregnum, were conjointly appointed, and the Yezbecki returned to power.

The Greek revolution withdrew the Emir from the desert, and restored him again to power. Instructions had been sent to Abdallah Pasha to watch the Christians closely, and to fortify the cities of the coast. There being no other chief of capacity or authority sufficient to control under such circumstances the Mountain, he turned his eyes again on the Emir, and invited him to the neighbourhood of Acre. The Emirs in possession, however, obtained their re-investiture on engaging to pay 1,750,000 piastres; but Emir Beshir was suffered to go with his partizans and settle in Jezzin, at that time separated from the government of the Mountain. With such neighbours the government of the Emirs Hassan and Selman became impossible. In daily fear of an invasion and in nightly dread of an insurrection, to raise the contribution required by the Pasha was out of the question. The Yezbecki hastened to make their peace with the Emir, and the Pasha did not long delay the pelisse of investiture. In the space of one year he had dispersed a conspiracy, fallen before an insurrection, seen himself replaced by two rivals, had raised an insurrection against his successors, and found himself again seated in the

corner of the Selamlik at Ibtedeen where I write these words.

No sooner was he reinstated than the country was again in convulsion. The agents sent to collect the taxes were resisted by the Christians of Gebail and Kesroan. The Metuali joined the Christians; the Emir hastened to the insurgent districts, accompanied only by a few troops, expecting by his presence to restore order. He found 2000 men in arms to oppose him, who, from behind their walls, during several hours, allowed their bullets to drop all around the spot where he was encamped. Neither condescending to reply nor to retreat, he remained so exposed, and secured an additional reputation, that of cool resolution, which is perhaps the only pleasing remembrance which has survived his fall. He maintained his ground until the arrival of the Sheiks of Shouf. Hassan and Selman, who, like corks in the water, are always ready to re-appear, attempted to intercept this succour, but were defeated. On this the insurgents submitted, and the contributions were raised to 600,000 piastres.

Hostilities followed between the Pashas of Acre and Damascus. The Emir, liable to the attacks of both, received orders from each. He sided with Abdallah, against whom the Porte at last declared itself, ordering the Pasha of Aleppo to unite with the Pasha of Damascus to put him down. The refugees of the Mountain, especially the old Amad, met the Pasha of Aleppo on his way, and promised

him the support of the Yezbecki if he granted the investiture to the Emirs Hassan and Selman, to which he assented. Afterwards, better informed as to the resources of that faction, he appointed another Shaab, Emir Abbas. Emir Beshir sought refuge at Beyrout; but the inhabitants, who had risen against Abdallah, refused to receive him. He then tried Saïda, but it was occupied by the troops of the Pasha of Damascus. In this extremity he was relieved by the Pasha of Egypt, who offered him an asylum; and, finding a vessel on the coast, he embarked for Alexandria with his family, was cordially received by the Pasha, with whom he spent eight months, and to whom he was afterwards indebted for his sixth elevation. This is the critical period in the history of the Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt. It was then that Mehemet Ali gained over Emir Beshir the ascendancy he never afterwards lost: his future schemes were now revealed in the measures he took to place not only the Prince of the Druzes, but the Pasha of Acre in his interests; which were no other than to obtain from Constantinople the pardon of Abdallah Pasha, and then from him the restoration of Emir Beshir. All this was accomplished. The Emir engaging to furnish his contingent of the 12,500,000 piastres, the sum at which the Porte estimated the pardon granted to Abdallah.

The Emir, restored by Mehemet Ali, was now utterly dependent on him, for a change had in the

mean time occurred. Emir Abbas who had been substituted by the Pasha of Aleppo, for the Emirs Hassan and Selman, the bitter foes of Emir Beshir, had been designated indeed by the latter himself, who finding his position untenable, wished to have for his successor a prince favourably disposed. Under these circumstances Sheik Beshir had remained in the Lebanon. The minister of Abbas was a Christian Sheik, named Meraï Dadah. This man having established an intimacy with Sheik Beshir, the latter, who was the right arm of Emir Beshir, declined to afford his usual aid; nor were matters adjusted till 950,000 piastres had changed hands in purchase of forgetfulness of the past, of which four-fifths ultimately found their way into the coffers of Abdallah.

Shortly after this apparent reconciliation, Sheik Beshir, whether seized by a panic, or acting on information, fled to the Waddy el-Teïm, thence he communicated with Emir Abbas, offering to obtain for him the government of Gebail from the Pasha of Damascus. The Emir yielded to his representations; and the Pasha of Damascus was only prevented from granting the investiture by the objections of Abdallah Pasha, who, however, engaged for their personal safety if they went back, and dispatched orders accordingly to Emir Beshir.

The stage-like shiftings which ensue may be accounted for by the waverings of Abdallah Pasha, between his favour for Sheik Beshir, and his fears

of Mehemet Ali. The latter ultimately prevailed. Sheik Beshir resolved to produce an effect upon the mind of the Emir by imposing numbers. He therefore convoked followers, adherents, favourers and friends from far and near. The gathering took place at Deir el Cammar, and thence he proceeded to Ibtedeen attended by 8000 persons.

Were it not that the strings were pulled from behind and afar, the result might have led to the inference that the Emir was cleverer than the Sheik. The display was a failure; the Sheik was kept waiting and not admitted to kiss hands. The gathering instantly dispersed, and Jumbellat, too happy to be suffered to skulk away, accompanied by the Rosslan, turned his horse's head for the Hauran; to reappear after some months on the sides of the Lebanon.

The contest of the ichneumon and the rattlesnake, if not fabulous, is the most wonderful of feuds. How the small, soft, delicate animal can avoid the coil and survive the venom of the asp is equally incomprehensible. When bitten, he runs to a hedge and is supposed to eat some herb, and then returns with renewed vigour to the contest. These flights to the Hauran remind one of the ichneumon. The bitten Sheik just so rushes off; just so returns. There is no field of political agitation, which has like the Lebanon such a place of refuge at hand. In the Hauran, there is neither possibility of pursuit, danger of surprise, or fear of treachery. It is a Druze country,

but interspersed with Bedouin tribes; so that it offered at once ties of blood, sanctity of hospitality, remoteness from antagonists and independence of the rule of Pashas. A small body in pursuit could effect nothing. A large one could not be supported; and if pursued, then in its rear rose the Ledja, which could be reached from every point. This Ledja is a mass of trachytic lava abrupt on all sides, elevated some hundred feet and extending fifty miles by thirty. It is broken and intersected by fissures and crevices, so as to form a labyrinth of rocks, cliffs and caverns, where the fugitive would be as formidable to meet, as difficult to find. The knowledge of the existence of this retreat, for all parties had recourse to it in turn, prevented the idea of pursuit ever being entertained in reference to the Hauran itself; whilst to the facilities of flight and refuge thus furnished has to be attributed their readiness at any moment to engage in desperate enterprises.

The services of the Hauran are not limited to the affording of protection: it furnishes also a means of assault. Once in safety there, the Emir, Sheik or partizan can communicate with every part and tribe of the Lebanon; he can wait his time; he can take his measures; concert plans with friends, conceal them from foes, and then suddenly appear to exchange places with his rival. But in truth this is superfluous trouble; the mere knowledge that he is in the Hauran, keeps his antagonist in an agony of suspense, suspicious of every adherent, watching

every motion. Besides he can always trust, like a Parliamentary opposition, to those in office for preparing his return.*

From the Hauran Sheik Beshir emerged in the Metuali country to the north, there he was joined by the chiefs of Jumbellat, by the Amad his accomplice in the murder of the Abou Niket, by the Emirs Hassan and Selman, whose accession gave to the party all that was requisite for success, except the investiture of the Pasha of Damascus. In this extremity the Emir was saved by the letters which Mehemet Ali addressed to Abdallah Pasha; and so fearful was he for the fall of his protége, or so anxious for a pretext for entering on the Syrian soil, that an expedition of 10,000 men was ordered for the Lebanon.† Nor was this enough: a messenger

* When the English garrison was quitting Calais, a Frenchman called to them, "When will you come back?" An English soldier is reported to have replied, "When your misdeeds shall have exceeded ours."

† Emir Emin to his Father Emir Beshir.

"So soon as his Highness Mehemet Ali Pasha, the haughty lion, the destroyer of giants, learnt the revolt of Sheik Beshir, he was seized with a violent rage and swore that if need be he would send all his troops from Candia to the Lebanon, and that he would cover earth and sea with soldiers. Upon this we arose and kissed the hem of his robe, and we said that this matter was not deserving of his passion; that a look from him sufficed, that you were sufficiently powerful to chastise the rebels, especially with the aid of Abdallah Pasha. Nevertheless his Highness ordered 10,000 men to march with Toussun Pasha and us, but we prayed him to delay their departure until we had written to you."

sent with such haste that he reached Saïda in six days, was directed to ascertain if a further reinforcement of troops would not be requisite; but he returned the bearer of news which put an end to the expedition; Abdallah Pasha had his reasons for anticipating the arrival of Egyptian troops: he at once dispatched eight hundred men who drove before them the insurgents; the minor Sheiks laid down their arms, and Sheik Beshir and his principal adherents were again off to the Hauran.

Trusting however to his former understanding with the Pasha of Damascus, he ventured into the neighbourhood of that city, and was captured with the Amad and the Rosslan, and sent to Abdallah Pasha. The question then arose, whether Sheik Beshir or Emir Beshir would bid the highest for the other's head. The influence of Mehemet Ali turned the scale, and Sheik Beshir with one of the Amad were strangled and their bodies cast into the streets: Emir Beshir paid 1,500,000 piastres. The old Amad Ali had already lost his head by order of the Pasha of Damascus: the Rosslan succeeded in escaping and fled, not this time to the Hauran, but to Anatolia.

The three pretenders, Hassan, Selman, and Abbas, had been secured by the troops of the Emir, and were brought to Deir el Cammar: several years before they had signed a paper to the effect that if they again revolted, they consented to have their eyes put out and their tongues cut off. The document

was now presented to them; having read it they declared it to be authentic: they had used their eyes and tongues for the last time.*

The minister of Abbas, Sheik Meraï Dadah, to save his thumbs, which the Emir had sworn to cut off, fled to France and is now a merchant at Marseilles. The Christian Sheiks of the Kesroan and the family of Kazen were subjected to contributions. The government of Kesroan was given to a nephew of the Emir, and heavy contributions struck on the districts chiefly compromised.

Now comes in ordinary course the punishing of foes, and the recompensing of friends. His partizans were so few, however, that as it was not to them that he owed his success, so was he not bound to consider them in the division of the spoils; secure of Egypt, he could now, in the extirpation of the Sheiks, follow the example of his patron in his extirpation of the Mamelukes.

The Sheiks of the Mountain combined a double character, and possessed rights of a two-fold nature; the one proprietory, the other administrative. Although their possessions and their feudal rights generally coincided as to place, it was not always so.

We here touch on the feudal administration, but must divest ourselves of the false conclusions respecting that system, which we have derived from

* One of them, Selman, one of whose eyes had been spared in the operation, the lids being only joined, obtained five years afterwards permission to have it re-opened, and the public belief is that the tongues of the others grew again.

observing it through its perversion and decay amongst ourselves. We understand it as possession of the land; we have to understand it as possession of the tithes for the purposes of administration. The system was upset when the land was usurped, and it is that usurpation which has brought the taxes of modern Europe. What the feudal system was in the Gothic States, when in their vigour, has been the feudalism of the Lebanon, up to the time of which we write. It is this difference which constitutes that general elasticity of Eastern administrations, which enables the people to endure oppressions which would destroy any European one, and to recover from disasters which would extinguish any European Government. This has therefore to be taken into account in explaining how the people of the Lebanon were able to endure the frightful anarchy of their chiefs detailed in these pages.

In Europe, the feudal chiefs passed by slow and gradual progression from administrators into proprietors, the administrative power passing itself into possession. In the case of the Sheiks, that did not happen; it has happened nowhere in Turkey.* The districts were administratively termed Mucatas;

* The magnificent Turkish Army, and the restored finances have been furnished solely on this basis. What is absorbed as rent in Europe, here becomes the resource of the State, and the defence of the country.[1]

[1] *Note appended to note*, 1860. The Loan forced upon Turkey during the pseudo Anglo-Russian War, of 1854, had not occurred at the time the above was written.

the administrators, Mucataji. These holders originally, as with ourselves, were yearly invested; they then became hereditary without following the law of primogeniture. A certain Mucata belonged to a certain Beit or house; it was left to arrangement among themselves, who was to possess it, and how it was to be possessed. These chiefs collected the taxes, decided on differences, levied troops, directed councils; and were in all cases the channels and intermediaries between the supreme government and the people. They received a percentage on the taxes and contributions from the people in kind; levied fines for offences, and of course had the means, when the evil times began, of profiting by the authority so possessed to get hold of land. They wormed themselves into possession, encroaching on villages, by displacing proprietors, and even by obtaining fractions of possessions, and shares of single fields; thus securing by their property increased power, while using their power to augment their properties: but it was always as so many individual acts; just as if they had stripped a traveller, or plundered a caravan. The chief who had displayed the greatest capacity in this kind of industry, was Sheik Beshir, whose possessions, moderate when he succeeded to his father, had increased at the time of which we are treating, to such an extent, that they included one-eighth of the Lebanon. It was only three generations before, that the people still remained the proprietory body, and that Mu-

cataji and Emir did not hold, and were incapacitated from holding, property. The first Shaab, on his election, had to renounce his private property.

The confiscation of a fallen faction bore equally on office and property. Hitherto in the changes the feudal system had been respected, and the districts, though under other chiefs, still remained subject to individuals of the families of the Sheiks, not to the direct authority of the head Emir.

The private property of Sheik Beshir and his adherents was of course confiscated. Mehemet Ali took charge of his three infant sons, securing them as hostages for the fidelity of Emir Beshir. The fallen party was the great majority: their fiefs, instead of being distributed to other members of the same families, or to members of other families, were resumed by the Emir; not at once as districts administered by him, but as fiefs of his sons or other branches of his family, all of whom had been reduced to the most abject dependence. The Kesroan had already been given to one of his nephews. The Arkouk was taken from the Amad, and given to his son Cassim. Jezzin, Gebel Rehan, and Teffah were given to his second son Halil. The two Shoufs, and Lower Garb appear to be continued in the hands of the Sheiks, because administered by the Abou Niket and the Telhouk: but they were added to the districts, which these houses, his only partizans (except the Abdelmalek), possessed, so that in reality the order was here equally disturbed;

and one of these houses, the Abou Niket, had soon to resign their hereditary with their newly acquired possessions. Even in one of these districts, the Lower Garb, the country of the Rosslan, he had given the principal village to his nephew Emir Beshir Cassim; and so the Sheiks disappeared.

Revolutions, such as the one which we have here seen effected upon a small scale, when they have taken place in large communities have always been brought about by causes not here in operation. Under Louis XI. in France, and Henry VII. in England, the success of the monarch in extinguishing the feudal power of the barons was to be attributed to a combination between the King and the people for their mutual emancipation. The parallel revolution in European countries was also followed by consequences with which that of the Lebanon has not been attended. Whilst the nobles were put down as administrators, by acquiring possessions in lieu thereof, they retained not merely a station, but a balancing power in the State.

In the Lebanon, the revolution sprung from no alliance between the people and the prince. It was upon one another that the Sheiks were hard. Where they had pressed most heavily on the people, in the invasion of their property, the last gained nothing by the change: the Emir took all that the Sheiks had robbed, and himself was active in the same line. It repeatedly happened that applicants for redress against the exactions of his officers came and threw

their title deeds at his feet refusing to retake them. The revolution was in favour of pure despotism, but a despotism which was confined in too puny limits to fence or guard itself. After the whole power of the Lebanon had been concentrated in his single hand, a mountain fortress that had braved and stood every storm, and repelled every invasion that for twenty-five centuries had desolated Syria, became as weak as the unwalled village of the plain.

This weakness, painfully present to the Emir, was not revealed to strangers; nor was the true nature of the change penetrated by observers. The means he devised to remedy it in some degree, was no other than to arouse religious dissensions, to which, as we have seen, the people, by electing Mussulmans for princes, had remained strangers for eight hundred years,—an equal balance having been held between the two creeds. What then must have been the effect of the conversion of the ruling prince to either of these faiths? That the conversion of the Emir was a matter of conscience no one will suppose; he is defended on the score of having been brought up as a Christian, which is only an additional charge, for he ostensibly professed Islam until the entrance of the Egyptians. Nor would his whole family have changed with him and been obedient to his orders, at one time to profess and at another to deny, unless the matter of religion had been treated as a common affair of profit and of policy; in which the orders of the chief were to be

obeyed, as in any detail of the government of a district or the management of a mission.

As the Druze religion did not admit proselytes, that door was shut to him. Not having the spirit of proselytism it was not the instrument which he now required. The Sheiks whom he had to put down were Druzes; it was against their enmity he had to secure himself. The Christians had now also Sheiks and they had a common interest as such with the Druzes. By professing Christianity he could carry others along with him to counteract that effect; the clergy became his active partizans; his persecution of the Sheiks would be explained as religious; he would gain the Christian population in spite of their chiefs. The Druzes not admitting and the Christians seeking for converts, it became easy to arouse religious dissensions, and thereby at once to obtain a cloak for his acts and to secure a majority for his partizans. The course he adopted was exactly suited to such reasoning. While continuing the outward forms of Islam, he observed the ceremonies of the Maronite Church in a manner which was at once concealed and ostentatious. Shrouded by the sanctity which Mussulman usage confers on the Harem, a chapel arose; the penal consequences of apostacy were artfully used to impose secrecy on the Christians and to spread amongst them the knowledge of the change. On the other hand the Druzes, wholly indifferent in as far as religious biasses were concerned, took no heed of

these proceedings, and were unable to apprehend the consequences until involved in them. The Mussulmans from a distance considering both parties as non-believers, had forgotten that the Prince of the Druzes was other than a Druze, and if a Druze he might be a Christian. If this matter was noticed at all it was as one of curiosity, and it was noticed only to be allowed to slumber again because felt to be atrocious.

Abdallah Pasha was directed on one occasion to ask Emir Beshir of what faith he was, and answered by a question, "Is he to be put to death, and how, if the answer be, '*I am a Christian*'?" The matter was pressed no further."* One of the Shaab on the assassination of his father, denounced Emir Beshir and all the Shaab as apostates. On this the Emir issued a general order to his house, strictly to conform to the public ceremonies and stoutly to deny to the Mussulmans their Christian profession.

The case had now arisen for the displacement of the present family and the election of a new one. This could be effected only by the union of the people; but the very case consisted of their disunion. Unable to remove the Prince who had apostatised they had to bear the consequences, which was a house divided against itself.

* On one of the occasions on which the Emirs Hassan and Selman were installed at Deir el Cammar, Abdallah Pasha sent thither a Mollah, to see that the ceremonies of Islam were duly respected by them and the public prayers observed.

As regards the Porte the matter was equally simple. The Shaab family had violated the fundamental law of the Empire, and thus had constituted themselves in open revolt. The case had to be dealt with, or the consequences accepted. The Porte had not courage to deal with it; and it followed from that moment that the Lebanon became the vulnerable and dangerous point of the Empire, alike as regards religious supremacy, administrative cohesion and foreign intervention. The results may indeed be lamentable, as regards human nature. They are but just penalties as regards the parties concerned. No sane man can expect, and no just one can desire, that a people guilty of such baseness, and a Government of such dereliction should prosper or endure. There was, indeed, a time subsequent to 1840, as detailed in the Syrian Blue Book, and the revival of which, at the present hour, will be found in the Diary, when the people again reverted to this door of escape, and proposed to petition the Porte for a Mussulman Governor. (As regards Deir el Cammar they did carry their purpose into execution and with success.) But by this time the English Government had got such a hold of the local factions and of the Turkish functionaries, as to be able to frustrate the project, and so keep the Lebanon open for future convulsions; representing the measure as a violation of the faith of the Porte towards England, and an oppression of the people of the Lebanon. The French Government, not

then so completely abandoned, did not share in these proceedings, and even, though timorously and secretly, assisted the project, in the hope of escaping from the embarrassments it apprehended, and the dangers it incurred of being forced by French fanaticism to an active interference, by reason of the wars of religious extermination which otherwise were certain to ensue.

Each district was now placed under a Christian chief, on the grounds that he was a Christian; the Christians being, with very few exceptions, the minority in each several division, and this in a society where all interests were dealt with by means of private intrigue.

The agent of the Emir in these proceedings had been given him by Mehemet Ali; he was a Greek Catholic, named Boutros Caramby. Emir Beshir can in truth be considered but as a blind, or at least passive instrument in the hands of Mehemet Ali, from whose brain emanated the plan, to whose agents its execution was confided, by whose power its success was ensured, and for whose ulterior purposes it had been devised and was executed.

That purpose was presently revealed, in the entrance of the Egyptians into Syria. The connexion instantaneously received a two-fold proof in the events which immediately followed. The first, the open profession of Christianity by Emir Beshir; the second, the declaration of the Druzes against Mehemet Ali.

The open profession of Christianity was not, however, a matter of easy accomplishment, even at that moment. The mere sanction of the step by Ibrahim Pasha did not suffice. It is whispered that menaces had to be employed. The sons of the Emir passed from the ceremony of baptism into the Mussulman ranks of the Egyptians, and were then sent to serve against the Druzes of the Hauran; to return with all the rancour aroused by such warfare against their fellow mountaineers, and the insolent sufficiency developed by intercourse with that bastard association of cynicism and pretence, that formed the Egyptian system.

Mehemet Ali, by obtaining the apostacy of the House of Shaab, opened Syria to himself; for the Lebanon was the key to Syria. The same measure presented him to Europe as a favourer of Christianity; and enlisted upon his side those active sympathies on the part of the people of Europe, which were the best calculated to mask the meddling dispositions of their Government; and also, as in the case of France, to constrain those Governments to come into his views when they were themselves averse to engaging in them.

But the severest infliction was yet to come. Although the Druzes pretended to be Mussulmans, it had never entered into the despotism of the Turkish Government to take them at their word, and require their military service. *They* were now to be held as Mussulmans, and called upon to enter those ranks

from which to escape the fellahs of Egypt blew off their hands, and cut out their tongues. The Christians of course were spared. What could be the effect of this distinction between two fractions of a population who had hitherto lived, as far as public burdens were concerned, on equal terms? The Druze population *en masse* was subjected not to the conscription merely, but to persecution. Hunted, caught, manacled, they lost the flower of their arm-bearing population; and in three levies made during eight years, it was calculated that every Druze family had lost one member. Besides those who entered the ranks where the service was for life, how many were there who fled their homes to escape that fate? Meanwhile, the Christians, who, from the causes already enumerated, were growing in numbers and wealth, free from all such fears, became possessors of the property of the expatriated Druzes: for every recruit that was taken left a family helpless. By purchase or mortgage, its lands passed to a Christian; or he became proprietor where he had been farmer; or added to his own the deserted fields and plantations of his neighbour, wandering in the Hauran, or lost in the Egyptian ranks. What need to accumulate details: the results are there to speak for themselves. The rancour instilled into the Druzes has exhibited itself in three ferocious *religious* wars; and the gratitude of the Christians to their perfidious Prince, and his more perfidious patron, signalized in their rising against Ibrahim

Pasha and their instantaneous abandonment of Emir Beshir. These results did not indeed appear till fifteen years after, that is in 1840. I must now return to resume the narrative from the close of the career of Sheik Beshir.

The reeasting of the parts was completed in 1825. From that period until the rupture between Mehemet Ali and the Porte, no troubles arising either from internal or external sources, disturbed the repose of the Mountain or the measures of the Emir. He was allowed according to his pleasure to change or modify the traditional powers of his office. His sons and relatives gave him no trouble: they shone by a reflected light. A "strong Government" was established: perfect personal security reigned. The Sheiks were swept away, as had been the Mamelukes or the Dérèbeys. The elements of religious war as yet slumbered only, and were unsuspected up to this point; the Christians had been no more than favoured; the Druzes only oppressed.

The siege of St. Jean d'Acre by Mehemet Ali, on the pretext of the refusal of Abdallah Pasha to surrender fugitives from Egyptian oppression, was in reality undertaken with a view to the conquest of Syria. The basis of the operation was the Lebanon. Emir Beshir remaining true to his sovereign, it would have been as easy for Mehemet Ali to have invaded the moon as to have entered Syria.

When the critical moment came, the Emir did

indeed waver; he first sought to be excused, then entreated delay, at least till the fortress of Acre should fall. Mehemet Ali could not afford to be placable. He had already, through Boutros Caramby, got the complete mastery of the Emir, knew every transaction, every fraud, crime and weakness. The Emir might storm, writhe, devise, vacillate, but could not escape. In the Selamlik of his seraï at Ibtedeen, he was chained as if in the Castle of Cairo. He repaired to the camp before Acre, and Ibrahim Pasha paraded him first there, and thence to Jerusalem, Homs and Adana.

The Druzes on the other hand, in as far as they were able, mustered in the camp of the Grand Vizir, and the last family left in possession, the Abou Niket, fled to the Turks, and appeared in their ranks at Homs and afterwards at Baylen. The Egyptian intruder now completed the religious schism, pursuing everywhere the Druze as such, with unrelenting hate, and in every possible manner favouring the Christians. The Maronites thus got accustomed to warlike expeditions, whilst of the Druzes, 5000 perished; and to the quarrels of the Sheiks, succeeded the hatred of the people.

I have already explained the facility of insurrection, and the frequency of revolution, by the proximity of the Hauran. It was necessary to the objects of Mehemet Ali to close this sanctuary. The Hauran, however, could not cease to serve as

a shelter so long as the Ledja behind it remained unsubdued. We must therefore again revert to that volcanic island. In reviewing its strength we will obtain an insight into the counsels of Cairo.

The extent of the Ledja has been already stated at fifty miles by thirty. It is three days journey south from Damascus; the highest points are five hundred feet; the escarpment which it presents to the plain around, from fifty to one hundred. Throughout its whole extent it is destitute of water. Only in crevices and hollows is there any portion of earth, and such scanty soil bears brushwood. It, therefore, does supply fuel to a limited extent. The rock is hard and porous, and works into such sharp points and edges that the strongest shoes are cut to pieces in a few hours. The whole mass is creviced like a glacier. To the larger chasms succeeds a supplementary system of cracks; constituting the whole into a network of ditches, parapets, passes, covered ways and pits. There are sharp angles where a single man may arrest a host; there are caverns where an army may lie concealed. Nor is this fortress one of unassisted nature. Man's labour has, through thousands of years, and an endless succession of untold feuds and unnarrated battles, completed her work. Wherever there is a level spot, it is traversed by dry stone walls; where an insufficiently rugged ascent, there has been raised a succession of parapets; every improvable

pass is shouldered by masonry and zigzags. In some tragedy, on a grander scale, of which the Ledja has been the theatre, a general strategic system has been connected with these defences in detail; and watch towers of a couple of stories ascended by a spiral staircase are concentrically placed, so that intelligence should be telegraphed from point to point, and from the circumference to the centre. Defensive works are not the only vestiges which it contains, there are ruins of churches which are early Byzantine: doubtless from the religious persecutions which drove so many of the Christians to the wilderness, or forced them to take refuge either under Mussulman Governments, or in the profession of Islam.

It was in 1837 that Ibrahim Pasha, in the course of his persecution of the Druzes, found it necessary to sweep the Ledja. The first expedition composed of two regiments found it impossible to effect anything and returned. A second and a stronger expedition was sent, but with no better success. The Druzes who had sought asylum did not amount in numbers to 2000 men, and yet the third expedition sent against them was raised to 18,000. The Egyptians reached the confines of the Ledja and encamped: all seemed deserted around. Breaking up next morning, they spread themselves over a large tract of the rocks and advanced inwards, as a body of explorers might do, confident of turning and crushing their victims by

the extent of ground they occupied in their advance and by their numbers. Soon, Druzes began to shew themselves at every point, jeering and beckoning them on, but stopping neither to defend a pass, nor to fire a shot. They went on skipping over the ledges, dancing on the tops of the towers, waving their scarfs, and so the day passed from sunrise to sunset, when the Egyptians encamped, having gained but a few miles, and were allowed unmolested to take their night's repose. Next morning, the Egyptians recommenced their toil, and presently were brought up by one of those long continuous crevices, of which I have spoken. Here it was that the Druzes had resolved to make their stand. The Egyptians, overjoyed at the sight of an enemy awaiting them, rushed to the attack, and were repulsed with frightful slaughter. They were three successive times brought again to the charge, to be again thrice broken; when, in the midst of the panic that had seized them, they were rallied by the appearance of a reinforcement coming up. The supposed friends were upon them only to deliver a fatal fire, and the Egyptians, now no longer able to distinguish friend from foe, scattered in all directions, leaving two-thirds of their number on the spot; nor would a man have escaped to tell the story but for the scanty numbers of the Druzes. The small body which had taken them in the rear were disguised in the accoutrements of the Egyptians who had fallen in the two former expe-

ditions. The Egyptians had not made a single prisoner; they were only able to secure some old men who had sunk from exhaustion.

This defeat and disaster did not discourage Ibrahim Pasha: the necessity of success was only rendered the more imperative. Suleyman Pasha was sent to take the command with new troops; as the survivors of the last expedition were so completely demoralized that they trembled at the name or sight of a Druze. The new commander saw at once the impossibility of reducing the Ledja by force, and also the means of doing so through its destitution of water. Numerous tanks and reservoirs had been dug and built in former times to preserve the winter rains for summer use. There were fountains and wells around within reach of the besieged. At these he established fortified camps, or caused them to be filled up; and the whole was blockaded, not by forces sitting down, for that was impossible, but by bodies of troops marching round to intercept communications.

Gradually reduced to extremity, they sent away the women and children in small parties, and then made a sally with the intention of reaching their brethren in the Lebanon. They were, however, unable to cross the Bkkaa, and took refuge in the Gebel Sheik of the Anti-Lebanon. Suleyman Pasha pursued them, and enclosed them there; again they broke away, and returned to the Ledja. Again he followed them, and again they regained the

Gebel Sheik, where at last they were all put to the sword; but not without the aid of treachery. A noted brigand, Chebly L'Ariane, had joined them, and been admitted to authority amongst them. He had been from the beginning in intelligence with Ibrahim and Suleyman Pasha, and betrayed them into their hands.*

* Chebly L'Ariane, insignificant as he was, is still the kind of person fitted, like Abdel Kader, to become a European hero. Poujolat makes him chief of the Druzes, under the name of Chebil; says that Ibrahim Pasha offered 10,000 purses for his capture, which would be equal not, as he states it, to 125,000 francs, but to £60,000; and describes him as delivering himself up to save his country from ruin. Ibrahim Pasha is made to address him thus:—"Wear the sword which you have used so well. Arms are for the brave. If I had two such men as you by my side there is no enemy in the world that I would fear." After which, the "Druze leader returns to the hills to put out the last spark of this memorable insurrection, which had cost the Egyptians 10,000 regular troops, besides other sacrifices." (Voyage en l'Asie Mineure, par M. B. Poujolat, Vol. ii. p. 567.) This work is a specimen of the unbounded facility of misrepresentation by means of the complete ignorance of Europe on every point, and the passions which affect every man. It further shews how misrepresentation propagates itself, for the foregoing statement is embodied in a valuable work, first anonymously published, but since acknowledged, by Prince Frederick of Schleswick Holstein. It must be said, however, that M. Poujolat is the only French writer who has told the truth, or rather who has not perverted the truth, in reference to Mehemet Ali.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LEBANON EXTINGUISHED BY THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

THE reduction of the Ledja, completing the possession of Syria for Mehemet Ali, was followed in course by a new attack upon the Sultan. With the resources of Syria in money, provisions and men, and the latter disciplined, the victory of Nezib was easily gained; and had the combatants not been interfered with, the consequences must speedily have been the restoration of the authority of the Porte throughout Syria, if not in Egypt. To Europeans such a statement may appear a paradox or an impossibility. But that it was the conclusion of those who rule, is shewn by the steps immediately taken at Constantinople by the European Powers to keep down the Turkish Government. They addressed to the Porte, within thirty-three days of the battle of Nezib, a *collective note.*

It is physically impossible that the intelligence of the event could have reached the remoter Governments, and the decision based thereon have been returned to Constantinople in the time. But the battle, and its issue, were perfectly well known beforehand,

as all such events are now a-days, from the perfection to which diplomacy is brought; just as the result of a race is known beforehand, when certain horses have been made safe. Thus the battle and defeat of Novara was publicly mentioned in London a week before it occurred; so that of Isted at Berlin, and so that of every diplomatic transaction, in which revolutions or armies are employed as the instruments.

This "Collective Note" conveyed the menace of war on the part of entire Europe, in case an independent Sovereign refused to submit to the dictation of a rebel. Such a course could only have been adopted under a conviction similar to that which I have above stated. Namely, that the victory gained at Nezib by Mehemet Ali, would lead to the downfall of the Egyptian power, and the restoration of the authority of the Sultan. But, independently of reasons—what I here speak, I know.

The "Collective Note" was not the only means employed. The defection of the fleet, and sudden death of the Sultan ensued, which had also been arranged, as had indeed been the movement itself of Ibrahim Pasha. The pretext for this collective interference of the Governments of Europe put forth to their own subjects at the time, was, as it has always been, the protection of the Ottoman Empire.

The insurrection of the Viceroy of Egypt had, however, been prompted at Alexandria, and sus-

tained at Constantinople, not with a view to its success, but as leading the way to an ulterior operation; which consisted of the confiscation at once of the Sovereign authority in Turkey, and the convulsion of Europe by a general war. In the prosecution of this design, certain of the Powers who had signed the "Collective Note" of 1839, turned round upon France, and signed the Treaty of 1840, on the pretext still of saving the Ottoman Empire, but from France, not from Mehemet Ali. The expected result of this operation was to drive France into siding with Mehemet Ali, and conjointly attacking Constantinople; when the pretext would have been again obtained for a Russian descent on the Bosphorus, especially stipulated for in the Treaty, and for a collision between the naval forces of England and France, on the coast of Syria.* It was

* Force of the respective Squadrons at the beginning of August, 1840.

British.		French.	
No. of Vessels.	Guns.	No. of Vessels.	Guns.
1	104	2	120
4	84	1	100
1	80	2	90
5	74	9	86
—		1	80
11		—	
		15	

Shewing a preponderance in favour of France, of 405 guns; the English vessels mounting 889, the French 1294. The French had besides, three more sail of the line, under orders,

not the discrimination but the cowardice of France, that prevented the first. It was a conversation, which I had myself with M. Theirs, followed by a telegraphic despatch to recall the French squadron to the Piræus, which prevented the second. The English squadron had been left with such an inferiority of ships, guns and men, as to have at once encouraged the French Commander to attack, and exasperated the British nation into a "hot war," by the disasters that would have ensued.

The Treaty of 1840 was signed in London, and England appeared to the world as the soul of the enterprise. But no appearance put on and no explanation offered or accepted, can alter either the source of the Treaty or its results. The Treaty came ready drawn from St. Petersburg. The result, leaving Turkey aside, was the rupture of the French Alliance; and no one could be found then or now, to believe that Russia's object was the good of the Ottoman Empire. From this period we may assume all diplomatic action to proceed from a Russian source; and the end of all such action to be the extinction of the Ottoman Power. Within diplomatic

and twelve frigates; besides twenty-two powerful steamers, carrying, or ready to receive, from six to ten 80-pounders. The Treaty, by preventing the restoration by Mehemet Ali of the Turkish fleet, gave further a Turco-Egyptian force of eighteen line-of-battle ships, which might have been joined to the French squadron, so that by the end of August the fleet under the command of the French Admiral would have amounted to thirty-six line-of-battle ships.

action we have also to range the movements of troops and armies, and we have to apply the same interpretation to proceedings of this order in their special application to Syria and the Lebanon.

In 1839 the same elements of insurrection in Syria against Mehemet Ali existed as in 1840. They had not shewn themselves previous to the battle of Nezib because of the total inaction of the Turkish Government. After the battle of Nezib, these elements were compressed by the 'collective note;' or rather by the imbecility of the Turkish Government in submitting to it. In 1840 these elements were evoked, but it was to be done not by the Porte but by an English squadron on the coast, the distribution of arms and proclamations. A course which again shews that the 'collective note' was based upon a due estimate of the circumstances. The appeal was instantly responded to; the French association with the Maronites was utterly disregarded, and Ibrahim found no Syrian true to his colours save a few poor Druzes, the last remnants of his persecutions who had been forced into service in his ranks. In defence of Emir Beshir no hand was raised; nor was hand required to pull him down. English *Commissioners* summoned him from Beyrout to their presence. On his scorning obedience he was declared fallen. In three days he had to appear as a suppliant. He wanted to go either to his Sovereign or to his old patron the rebellious Pasha. Both requests were refused and he was

told to select some other place of refuge; to which he answered in the language of his country, "then send me to hell." But the word which in his country's language represented hell was Malta, whither he was conveyed, and where to his equal surprise and disgust he was landed, and told that it was done at his own request. So ends the history of the house of Shaab; so ends the story of the Lebanon.

From the period of the connection of this country with Egypt, we have ceased to be engaged in tracking our way through its events. We have been seated as spectators watching the progress of a drama written before hand; where the personages declaim passages, concerted for the catastrophe.

Von Hammer stops short in his history of the Ottoman Empire at the treaty of Kainardji in 1774, because from that period it was impossible to write it. Henceforth, he says, the different States of Europe are moved by springs, the secret of which is known only at St. Petersburg. The history of the Lebanon, certainly since 1840, has been managed by three of those Governments (Turkey, England and France) who have ceased to have a history of their own.

At best, the Lebanon from that period affords a small chapter in the history of Russia, as adding one to the many fields of political and religious rivalry, for the Powers of Europe.

CHAPTER XVI.

HISTORICAL CONFIRMATION.

THE foregoing outlines of the history of Gebel Souria, were written on the spot for the purpose of being enlarged after I had the opportunity of reference to authorities. The present volumes being called for by passing circumstances, the manuscript has been placed in the printer's hand, without even the leisure for a previous perusal. There might have been a countervailing advantage in this; as compiled exclusively from native sources it presented their own ideas unmixed, and unoppressed with controversial matter. It was only when the preceding sheet was passing through the press, that I looked at Gibbon, and have in consequence added this intercalary chapter for the following reasons.

The native authorities might be supposed to overrate the importance of their people. The statement in the foregoing narrative most likely to awaken surprise, and provoke contradiction, is the weight which I have attributed to the Lebanon in determining the relative positions of the Caliphat, and the Greek Empire. A common perusal of Gibbon or any of those general histories, which are undertaken

merely as compilations having reference to the name of some people, or of certain ages of the world, would lead the reader to infer that my statement was apocryphal. I therefore quote on this point a passage from Gibbon, which is in itself a full confirmation, whilst the phrases which accompany it, would produce exactly the contrary effect upon the reader. For at one and the same moment, he designates the Mirdites as being one of the firmest barriers of the empire; and, as being disarmed and transplanted by the suspicious policy of the Greeks. I subjoin in a note the entire passage.*

* "The event of the siege (of Constantinople) revived both in the East and West the reputation of the Roman arms, and cast a momentary shade over the glories of the Saracens. The Greek Ambassador was favourably received at Damascus, in a general council of the Emirs or Koreish: a peace, or truce of thirty years was ratified between the two empires; and the stipulation of an annual tribute, fifty horses of a noble breed, fifty slaves, and three thousand pieces of gold, degraded the majesty of the Commander of the faithful. The aged Caliph was desirous of possessing his dominions, and ending his days in tranquillity and repose: while the Moors and Indians trembled at his name, his palace and city of Damascus was insulted by the Mardaites, or Maronites, of Mount Libanus, the firmest barrier of the Empire, till they were disarmed and transplanted by the suspicious policy of the Greeks. After the revolt of Arabia and Persia, the house of Ommiyah was reduced to the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt; their distress and fear enforced their compliance with the pressing demands of the Christians; and the tribute was increased to a slave, a horse, and a thousand pieces of gold, for each of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the solar year."—Gibbon's History, Vol. vii, page 5.

The next point is that connected with faith. William of Tyre, to put forward a successful proselytism, represented the Maronites as Monothelites. Consulting now European writers, I am amazed to find that this ridiculous perversion is spread through all authors, and all ages. Gibbon, with the happy facility of sounding phrases which seem to have been composed by themselves, and then drawn at hap-hazard from a box, to be appended to proper names equally drawn at hazard, mixes up the truth and the falsehood, so as to lead the reader into a maze, and then to send him forth filled only with the sense of the writer's universality of knowledge, and conclusiveness of judgment.

"In the style of the Oriental Christians, the Monothelites of every age are described under the appellation of Maronites, a name which has been insensibly transferred from a hermit to a monastery, from a monastery to a nation. Maron, a saint or savage of the fifth century, displayed his religious madness in Syria; the rival cities of Apamea and Emesa disputed his relics, a stately church was erected on his tomb, and six hundred of his disciples united their solitary cells on the banks of the Orontes. In the controversies of the Incarnation, they nicely threaded the orthodox line between the sects of Nestorius and Eutyches; but the unfortunate question of *one will* or operation in the two natures of Christ, was generated by their curious leisure. Their proselyte, the Emperor Heraclius, was rejected as a

Maronite from the walls of Emesa; he found a refuge in the monastery of his brethren; and their theological lessons were repaid with the gift of a spacious and wealthy domain. The name and doctrine of the venerable school were propagated among the Greeks and Syrians, and their zeal is expressed by Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, who declared before the Synod of Constantinople, that sooner than subscribe the *two wills* of Christ, he would submit to be hewn piece-meal, and cast into the sea. A similar or a less cruel mode of persecution soon converted the unresisting subjects of the plain, while the glorious title of *Mardaites*, or rebels, was bravely maintained by the hardy natives of Mount Libanus. John Maron, one of the most learned and popular of the monks, assumed the character of Patriarch of Antioch; his nephew Abraham, at the head of the Maronites, defended their civil and religious freedom against the tyrants of the East. The son of the orthodox Constantine pursued, with pious hatred, a people of soldiers, who might have stood the bulwark of his empire against the common foes of Christ and of Rome. An army of Greeks invaded Syria; the monastery of St. Maron was destroyed with fire; the bravest chieftains were betrayed and murdered, and twelve thousand of their followers were transplanted to the distant frontiers of Armenia and Thrace. Yet the humble nation of the Maronites has survived the empire of Constantinople, and they still enjoy, under their Turkish

masters, a free religion and a mitigated servitude. Their domestic governors are chosen among the ancient nobility; the patriarch, in his monastery of Canobin, still fancies himself on the throne of Antioch; nine bishops compose his synod, and one hundred and fifty priests, who retain the liberty of marriage, are intrusted with the care of one hundred thousand souls. Their country extends from the ridge of Mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli; and the gradual descent affords, in a narrow space, each variety of soil and climate, from the Holy Cedars, erect under the weight of snow, to the lime, the mulberry, and the olive trees of the fruitful valley. In the twelfth century, the Maronites, abjuring the Monothelite error, were reconciled to the Latin Churches of Antioch and Rome, and the same alliance has been frequently renewed by the ambition of the Popes and the distress of the Syrians. But it may reasonably be questioned, whether their union has ever been perfect or sincere; and the learned Maronites of the college of Rome have vainly laboured to absolve their ancestors from the guilt of heresy and schism."*

This accumulation of misstatements is further accompanied by foot-notes, which lead the reader to infer, not that the author is contradicting the authorities he quotes, but that he is copying them.

For instance; in support of the statement, if the word can be applied to such loose phraseology,

* Gibbon, chap. xlvii.

that the Maronites "threaded the orthodox line between the sects of Nestorius and Eutyches," and "generated by their curious leisure" the unfortunate question of one will, he quotes La Roque. That author asserts the direct contrary. He says, "The disciples of St. Maron kept aloof from all the sects." "The Monastery of St. Maron rendered itself celebrated in the East, by the inviolable attachment of its religious, to the holy doctrines, which they defended alone against the heretics." (page 40.)

After mentioning that the Monophysites were called Jacobites from their founder, who maintained in Christ two substances and one sole nature, he says that Jacob was opposed by John the second Maro. (page 44.)

"This voyage to Rome and this patriarchate of John Maro are confirmed and described at greater extent in some Arab histories, which relate that he set out from Syria with a Legate of the Pope; that having arrived at Rome, his creed was examined, that he was afterwards created Patriarch of Antioch, whither he repaired, and where he extinguished heresy; at last, that he retired to Mount Lebanon with all the Jacobites whom he had brought back to the Church, and that he was received by the people with universal joy." (p. 48.)

Gibbon also quotes the Dictionary of Assemann, as proving the identity of Maronites and Monothelites. Assemann, as the following passages will shew, states exactly the contrary.

"John Maro, (elected Patriarch of Antioch, A. D. 673,) having converted many to the orthodox faith, the Latins of Antioch moved thereby, presented him to the Cardinal Legate of the Roman See; and by their suffrage John was created Bishop of Botrus, (Patroun), that he might preserve the Lebanites in the Roman faith." (p. 499.)

"Edenensis and Nairen contend that on the occasion of the war, the names of Melchites and Mardaites began to be heard in Syria, that the latter, following John Maro, were called Maronites, and that they preserved the orthodox religion in Syria; that the former, because they followed the Emperor, were called Melchites, that is, Imperialists, and that these were Monothelites." (p. 507.)

The Edenensis, here mentioned, means a Mirdite from the town of Eden; this reference shews that that people was not destitute, at the time, of native writers. The Maronite priests, in translating to me their own ecclesiastical writers, gave me no grounds for inferring that the institution of their Patriarchate was in any way connected with foreign influence. The Roman writers would, of course, desire to establish such a connexion, for which a colour would be given by the voyage of John of Maro to Rome. One point is, however, most satisfactorily established; that the term Maronite, at this period, had no reference whatever to any population; and was simply the name of a religious sect, opposed to the Monophysites and Monothelites, in which they

agreed with the Greek Church; these heresies having been successively condemned at the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, and the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 680, but opposed to the Greek Church on the matter of the procession of the Holy Ghost. They maintained in fact in the East, and alone maintained there, the essential doctrines of the Church of Rome. In their subsequent union with the Church of Rome, similar concessions were made to them, in regard to their liturgy, to Church discipline, language, and celibacy of the priesthood, as were made with the so-called United Greeks and Armenians, with whom their position was perfectly analogous.

The perusal of Gibbon leads to the conclusion, that the year 1860 was not the first in which the freest scope was opened for misrepresentation in respect to the Lebanon. The tone of that misrepresentation is, however, the opposite to the prevailing one at present. From him no one could gather that there was dissent or difference. The Druzes are not so much as mentioned. The same may be observed in the work of Cardinal Dandini, who went to the Lebanon in the middle of the last century as a Legate from the Pope, and who, in his account of the country, at least in the English edition, does not once use the word Druze.

In respect of the neutrality of the Lebanon during the Crusades, Gibbon bears ample testimony, by never once mentioning it or its people.

DIARY IN THE LEBANON

DURING THE

YEARS 1849 AND 1850.

DIARY IN THE LEBANON.

CHAPTER I.

VISIT TO SHEIK SAID JUMBELLAT.

25th November, 1849.—I LEFT the Palace of Ibtedeen this morning; we crossed the ridge which forms the valley of Deir el Cammar, and immediately came in sight of Muchtara, backed by a black hill or mountain of pines. The incessant terraces have disappeared, nature has revived, is stronger in mountains and more varied in frowning rock and beetling precipice. The rivulet has cut its way along the bottom of the valley, and its meandering course may be traced by the cliffs jutting from each side, and almost uniting. The Caimacan of the Druzes, Mir Emin, seemed to take pleasure as we rode along in repeating to me the traditions of the country. He has possessions in the neighbourhood of Beyrout, which are very extensive. His olive-trees gave him £15,000 a year. The sum appears incredible, but the figures were given me over and over again; and he is in debt! These men have not our expenses, they do not gamble. It

was an enigma how they could spend their money, and so I told him. He answered, "We spend it in injuring one another." Mir Emin is but in the third rank. The first is of course the house of Shaab; the second, Jumbellat, which we were going to visit. Mir Emin told me that he was quite a young man; that his father was the celebrated Sheik Beshir, who, rich, cunning and powerful as he was, never was permitted to sit in the presence of Emir Beshir. When he observed that the Emir was cutting off the chiefs of the Druzes, he knew that his turn would come; and when the Emir turned Christian he suddenly raised the country, and surrounded Beit ed Deen (Ibtedeen, as it is commonly called) with eight thousand men. Emir Beshir had recourse to the Pasha of Acre, Abdallah Pasha, who secured Sheik Beshir. He offered to the Pasha £100,000 for his release; Emir Beshir £200,000 for his head, and got it. He then attacked and destroyed the palace at Muchtara, which stood on the opposite hill before us, confiscated his goods; his sons and dependants were scattered and took service under the Pasha of Egypt. Saïd Bey, the young man we are presently to see, had been restored by the Porte, but he has done this and that, and is under a cloud: he has now become the favourite of the English.

We were a gay and numerous party, well mounted and caparisoned, and active withal. Every spot not actually rock was turned up by the hoofs of

the horses. On a level part, before descending the ravine, Saïd Bey appeared at the head of a body of horsemen. He sprung to the ground, and came and kissed the hand of Emin Effendi. He then mounted and followed. The Mir Emin presented me as a "Friend." He stopped all remark by an instant change of manner. A moment after, on my expressing my admiration of the scenery, he turned his answer, which was made in the hearing of Emin Effendi, to meet the insinuation of Mir Emin: it was this. "Under the shadow of the Emperor our master, and God willing, we will embellish it." When he came up he seemed to be a lad, but afterwards years appeared on his face, his costume was graceful, his performance perfect: the attitudes of a slave were environed with the air of a Prince. He wore the Meintan and Potur, all black, and, where the turban or kerchief is almost universal, the simple cap. His under jacket was a rich stuff of mingled grey and black, his belt a piece of gold and green embroidery: a rich sabre was suspended from the shoulder, and a gorgeous embroidered case with gold tassels was slung round his neck.

After following for a short time, he suddenly spurred his horse, which was the signal for the whole troop, his and ours, to start off and mingle in a headlong gambol among the rocks; firing off blunderbusses, and playing at jereed with such reeds as were at hand, pipes, sticks, and even umbrellas. As we descended the pass, the exposed beds of shells re-

awakened the geological fervour of our expeditions from Deir el Cammar. Buckland's spirit would have rejoiced to behold the turbaned Turks, and unturbaned Curds, Circassians, Georgians, Armenians picking out with yatagan and masia,* belemnite and trochus, and wrapping the specimens in their handkerchiefs. While so engaged, who should break through the trees upon us but Izzet Pasha, with his military figure and rich costume. He too was engaged in the same chase, and two orderlies followed him with handkerchiefs full of specimens. On this happy meeting, we all sat down at a fountain. It is singular how rapidly the table is here spread in the wilderness. A few capotes and horse covers, with the plane tree over head, and at once you have a furnished apartment. The fire as by magic was sending up its flame, the coffee, Takim, made its appearance, and pipes and snakes of nargillies crossed the floor. After the specimens had been considered and compared, and a little lecture delivered on the things at the bottom of the sea, the coffee drunk and pipes smoked, we mounted again, crossed the rivulet on a bridge, and at the pace of a hunt with the fox in view, ascended the steep of Muchtara. Our party might amount to 50 or 60 horsemen, as many more were running on foot; while before us the assembled chiefs and elders, to the number of 150, formed groups on the terraces of

* A pincer for embers for the pipe. There is generally one within the iron ramrod of the pistol.

the palace or on the rocks. As we approached the precincts, Saïd Bey dismounted, and ran as a groom, holding his hand on the crupper of Emin Effendi's saddle, who rode a fine black animal, but invisible from his housing of gold and embroidery. The horsemen who had preceded us were wheeling on the esplanade, and throwing or feigning to throw the jereed. We reached the entrance hall at a gallop, but Saïd Bey was up and holding Emin Effendi's stirrup to dismount. Emin Effendi, Izzet Pasha, Mir Emin and I, were led into an open hall where water was brought for our feet, which we declined; a censer of burning incense was placed in the middle. Saïd Bey then went round with rose water, which he sprinkled on us and poured on our hands: then came sherbet and the coffee and pipes. Before the door, stood in a wide circle the 72 elders from the whole of the Lebanon, and the chiefs and collected people of this district, in all the majesty and variety of that costume, which on the shores of the Bosphorus is now but a tradition. There were a dozen rites and races amongst these, but no distinction of dress or rank (as far as religion was concerned) or tongue. From the window there was the magnificent prospect which I have endeavoured to describe; a fountain played before us; the murmur of water fell on us from above, ascended to us from below. The sun had mitigated his beams, but had not veiled his splendour, and this was the 25th November. Dishes of fresh plucked figs and grapes

stood before us: what could man desire more, what better invent. A reduplication of inward satisfaction arose from the contemplation of itself. Reverie, such occupation is called, and from such was I roused by the exclamation, "Now let us work." I was first disturbed and then puzzled; but finally expressed myself as follows: "Of all the enjoyable things I have experienced to-day, this disturbance is the most so." On this the Bulucks were told off and started on their beats, and we in the meantime took a stroll through the little village, followed by a long train of attendants. Every stone was scrutinized, every herb and tree; the mode of building criticized, new plans discussed; a spinning wheel in one cottage set a-going, and the description of our highland one, which is moved by the foot, leaving both hands free to spin, and winding up itself the thread, so as not to require to be turned back, was listened to with interest, and then turned into Arabic for the benefit of the natives. Two high functionaries of the Porte were exhibiting as scientific European travellers. On our return Saïd Bey was sent for, and Emin Effendi choosing to be interpreter, I expressed my regret at seeing such buildings ruined, and asked how the people of the Mountain had been seized with the mania of destroying each other. He answered that these things were before his time; that his youth was spent in exile, and only now had he been by the bounty of the Sultan enabled to see his country. I answered: "Your good fortune has

given you a treasure, may your adversity prove a jewel."

Izzet Pasha, when he was gone, amused us by the account of his arrival and reception. The manner of dinner they observe here had overwhelmed him. The dishes endless, and the dimensions enormous; he declared that 200 persons might have dined from the meal presented to him. One of the dishes was a heap of pilaff, and on the top an enormous sheep entire, decorated with garlands. The sheep here are fed like the geese for Perigord pies; they are tied each under a mulberry tree, crammed with its leaves and washed daily four times; they have also large tails. But the strangest part of the hospitality was the demeanour of the host, which ended in a fit, after which he lay on a sofa unable to move for two hours. It was not till after much cogitating that it occurred to Izzet Pasha, that the fit he had been seized with was terror, and that he had been watching his movements, expecting a sign at some moment that should signify the close then and there of his youthful career. So this explained the enormous rations, by means of which the appetite of the Pasha would be so glutted, that Sheik Saïd would not at that time be required. However, the respite of two days had restored him to equanimity; and I never saw a young man who displayed a more thorough consciousness of longevity. One consequence was, that the dinner was disappointing. I complained very much that Izzet Pasha having had

a whole sheep to himself, we four should not have even half a one between us. On this I was asked to stay to-morrow, and that I should have a dozen to myself. Saïd Bey, on being sent for, came and sat down at table with us. The table was got up in the Frank style, indeed out-doing us; for instead of table cloth it had the cover of a boudoir table, but we ate with our fingers. He retired immediately after with Mir Emin. Emin Effendi, Izzet Pasha, and I were left to our pipes, our coffee, and ourselves. In the course of the evening, I bethought myself of going and paying a visit to our host. I found him in the midst of a crowded divan. My arrival occasioned great surprise, but evident satisfaction. The only chief of distinction there, was Hattar (or Hallar), who served as interpreter, as Saïd Bey speaks but little Turkish. Hattar is a man of little wealth but great influence. His air is that of a bandit.

Saïd Bey abounded in his expressions of gratitude and devotion to the English. He made anxious inquiries respecting Colonel Rose, whom he called his patron and protector. I asked him what he thought of the measure which had assembled so large a number of guests around him. He said, "It is the order of our master and must be good." I asked if it were good in itself, or because of him who ordered it: he remained silent, when Sheik Hallar with emphasis said, "It is good in itself, and it is only ordered by the Sultan because demanded by the people."

Saïd Bey said that he could not part with me to-morrow; that he had expected a visit, and hearing that I was at Deir el Cammar, had sent expressly to request one. That his man finding me at the Palace, had not ventured to go there, but now his good fortune having brought me, he could not consider this a visit, since I had come when it was not he who was master of his house. This amiability did not efface, though it smoothed down, a sombre air and sinister countenance. They are an incomprehensible people. Seeing a body of them assembled, I have always the idea of a number of compressed storms; a man's interest consists in how he stands with this one or that. I was speaking of our Poor Laws, and telling them that with us every large proprietor had to pay a considerable sum for the support of the poor. Saïd Bey imposingly replied, "We give to the poor one half of our revenues." The scene described by Izzet Pasha shews how they can be frightened. The Consuls, every fifteen days, send some piece of frightful intelligence, which they are ready to believe.

26th.—It has been determined that I am to remain here a couple of days. Emin Effendi's departure took place this morning with his train. Izzet Pasha remains to prosecute the numbering of the people. The numbers which they had returned for this place themselves was 30. He has found 140. He merely counts the houses, allows three souls to each, and then estimates the probable number between the

ages of 20 and 60 who are liable to the tax. He guesses the state of the Mountain (that is the two Caimacanships, extending from Tyre to Tripoli) at 70,000, and these are to pay, I find, 20 piastres each. On calculating the amount, I was infinitely surprised to find that nearly one half of the tribute will be made up from the poll-tax; so that the census, the object of all this commotion, is, after all, for the rating of the property for raising no more than £2100! The Porte expends twice that sum for its share in the work. The people offered to bear the entire charge, but the Porte would not allow them. It is absurd, therefore, to look on the opposition of the chiefs as occasioned by unwillingness to be taxed; it is the loss of revenue they apprehend, in a stop being put to arbitrary exactions.

I find considerable apprehensions respecting the drafting for the army, recollecting as they do the administration of Mehemet Ali. As yet nothing has been said respecting recruitment.

The Turkish military service is by no means so heavy a burthen as continental conscription. The lot falls only on those between the ages of 20 and 25. The term is but five years. Chiefs of families, only sons, and those engaged in study, are exempt. From those liable, the lot takes one in eight or one in ten. They are well fed and clothed; they have the bath gratis, or frequent it at less than 1*d*. They receive a relatively larger pay than the British sol-

dier, and twelve times as much as the Russian. Many not drawn offer themselves, and those whose term is expired frequently offer to re-engage.

The inhabitants of the country are either Christians of various sects, or Druzes, with some few Shiïtes, called here Metuali. Druzes, though openly conforming, are not held to be Mussulmans. As rayas they would not be subject to military service; but they do not pay the equivalent poll-tax or charatch. The present poll-tax has been proposed by themselves as a means of raising the tribute.

We have received intelligence that a Chamberlain of the Emperor has arrived at Beyrout, and that the Russian flag was flying at the fore of the Russian steamer in sign of its great gestation. The Prussian Consul has also been to the Pasha to say that he, too, had a traveller for the Mountain. This, as may be imagined, has produced a great sensation, and I was besieged with interrogatories. The first question always was—"Is Russia, too, going to meddle in the Mountain?" By the natives the question was not put without evident satisfaction, just as at an English election the news would be received of an additional candidate. It is natural that they should seek a third protector, for the protogées of each power suffer from the other. Saïd Bey is persecuted by the French Consul for a sum of money; against this his patron, the English Consul, cannot shield him, so a third protector is an

object to all. I replied to them, that I did not think Russia had any such intention. This answer was not at all to their minds. The Turks were surprised, and I explained that she would make use of the Mountain to provoke the rivalry of England and France, and for this purpose it was requisite that she should not appear on the field. Izzet Pasha said that gave him the key to something the Russian Consul had said to him, and which he could not comprehend. "His Government," according to M. Basili, "had sent him instructions to meddle, like France and England, but he, out of regard for them (the Turkish officials), and wishing to live in good harmony, did not obey his instructions, and never in any way interfered in those affairs. If he learnt anything of importance for the Turkish Government he never failed to communicate it to them for their guidance, and he took no part but so far as to be of service to them." What did this mean, said the Pasha — a Russian Consul who does not obey his instructions, and who tells us so? Now I understand that he wanted to make us feel the obligation we were under to them, and thus contrast their conduct with that of the others. However, the Russian Consul gains nothing by it, for it is perfectly well known that he works the others. Even the English dragoman remarked in the Pasha's saloon that whenever his Consul became busy or angry, the Russian had just paid him a visit. A word of Mir Emin, who I am sorry

to say had a fit of the ague last night, shewed me in a striking manner the demoralizing effect of these intriguers. He said that the Pasha of Beyrout sometimes sent him an order to arrest a man in consequence of a charge brought against him; the man would be arrested, and the affair put in order of adjudication. A few days afterwards a letter would come to this effect—"The English or French Consul objects to the proceedings, you must, therefore, liberate him." I have consequently written to beg the Pasha not to mention the Consul's name, but simply to send a pardon, which I may publicly read to the people.

Emin Effendi and the Caimacan being gone, Izzet Pasha busy with his census, and Saïd Bey with his guests, I betook myself to the bath.

I had not visited this part of the building before, and I did not look for the splendour of Ibtedeen, but I was surprised when led through an ante-room, that just held a wide sofa, into a small cupola of fourteen feet square, with two recesses similarly diminutive; one of them containing the Haous, the plunge bath, or piscinum, of the Romans. It was neat however; laid in slabs of carrara marble with slips between of their own beautiful stone, running through a gamut of shades, from white or pale stone colour to brick red, and of consistency, from the friable limestone to flint. The prevailing material is lithographic stone. It is cut easily and smoothed down or polished by rubbing the softer with the

harder, and cracks easily into rectangular masses. For building in every shape and for ornament it is impossible to imagine a material better adapted. All the buildings are with vaults in stone; the streets in the towns may be said to be vaults, and the inlaying or mosaic in stone or marble, is the ornament of the country. They have also an indurated shale, which is hard enough to take a polish and is jet black; it contains bituminous matter enough to burn when put in the fire. Of all species of apartments the bath is the one requiring and calculated for, the display of marbles and mosaic. That of Saïd Bay, humble as it was, was the only ornamented part of what remained to him as a house, and just the thing I have fixed upon for wishing to have, and hoping to live to see, attached to every cleanly gentleman's establishment of modest fortune in my own country. On inquiry I found this was not the bath belonging to the serai; it had been ruined with the rest, and this one had been built by Saïd Bey. The cost was about £350. In England it might be built for the same, or less, and with a better and larger ante-room might accommodate fifty persons a day. Saïd Bey now rose in my estimation. When making these observations I little expected that my pride was about to have a heavy fall, and on the most tender point. If there was one thing belonging to the bath that I imagined I understood it was the shampooing of the foot; if there was any part of the human body that I conceived I duly estimated, or the sensual

enjoyments derivable from which I fully possessed, it was the foot. I now discovered that I had lived in thick darkness in respect to everything connected with it: being asked if I should like to have a shampooer, a man whom I was told was perfect in that line was sent for. After considerable delay he made his appearance—a tall, gaunt figure, with wiry and hairy limbs—and at once seized upon my feet and treated them with an art and dexterity which the tractatrix of Martial might have envied. The rest of the body engaged little of his attention, and indeed so much time was consumed that twenty-four hours would scarcely have sufficed for the operation had it been extended to the, in his eyes, evidently inferior members. The attendants crowded round—I dont mean the attendants at the bath, but from without—in their heaving abbas and ample turbans, and watched with curious eyes the cracking of each toe and the mesmerizing of each spot.

The sun had already dipped behind the hills when I descended to the esplanade, of which there are two, one in front of the buildings and commanding a beautiful view of the valley; across it ran a stream of water which poured over the edge, and turned a mill below. It overlooks to the north-east the other esplanade, on which the game of jereed was exhibited on our arrival. These must be remnants of the Crusades, for the name given to them is "Phantasia."

Here I found the Pasha walking, and the crowd

assembled and standing at a respectful distance. He seemed embarrassed, and had evidently something unpleasant to communicate; at last he made up his mind, and said, after a deprecatory preface, "I think you ought not to stay in this house longer than you can help." I inquired what had happened; he answered, "I know nothing, but I suspect that Saïd Bey has received a letter from your consul." I asked him why he had not sent for me immediately, that I might have started, as now it was too late that night. He answered that it was only while walking there that he had guessed the cause of several things he had observed during the day, and which shewed that my presence was very embarrassing to our host, and which he could only attribute to the consul's writing to warn him. We found the dinner table laid for two only, but sent to invite Saïd Bey's presence at supper. He came, and I thought that I perceived the same embarrassment; he drew his chair away from me, never addressed me, and when addressed by me merely replied. Immediately on rising from table he disappeared. However, about an hour afterwards, and when we were discussing whether I should not pay him a visit, and try and comprehend myself if there was any foundation for our suspicions, he entered the apartment. He placed himself far away, and on the other side of the Pasha, contrary to his habit. I carefully abstained from taking part in the conversation, and on his

being called out, I requested the Pasha to avoid any topic connected with politics; for I had come here a guest, had been kindly received, and wished to avoid anything that could be disagreeable to my host. The Pasha smiled, and no sooner had Saïd Bey returned than he commenced questioning him about his property; how many mills he had, how many houses, how many mulberry trees, how many olives, where they were, what they returned; and at last I perceived Saïd Bey become rather uneasy. The Pasha now continued with a bland pertinacity and the most infantine simplicity, to inquire what brothers he had, how old they were. He was astonished to find one older than himself, appealed to me as to the extraordinary nature of the fact, asked me if in England such things happened. I was on thorns, and threw out signs of distress. The Pasha was blind; his questions continued. The young man explained that his father had left in his will that the cleverest of his sons should succeed. The Pasha was delighted, admired the usage, and hoped it would become general; then asked him who had decided in his favour, and put him in possession. He replied, the Turkish Government, who had ordered that the custom of the country should be observed. He then asked if that was the custom throughout the country. "No, it was only in their family." At each new embarrassment and contradiction, the Pasha was more and more delighted and complimentary. The young man became

more and more confused, his speech embarrassed; he became first incomprehensible and at last mute. I then interposed, and asked him about his horses; he turned to me as to one who had come to his rescue, and the Pasha turned round with a sly look, as if to say, "Did you not see what I was after?" However, the questioning he had undergone had evidently led him to make serious reflections on the precariousness of his own tenure, and the letter of the consul, if letter he had received, had lost its charm. Suddenly he addressed me in these words, "What do you think of the Mountain, and what will you say of us when you go away?" I answered, "I shall say that Saïd Bey received a stranger like a prince." "But what more will you say?" "That I know nothing." "But you have asked me nothing." "Do you wish me to ask you?" "Ask me what you like, I shall answer you by mouth or in writing." "I have already asked you, and you would not answer me. I asked you last night everything, when I said Are you satisfied with the Messaa?" "But Hattar Bey answered you." "Yes, *he* did." "But I told him in Arabic what answer to give. And now I will say more. I was before against the Messaa, I am for it now. The Sultan has not sought it; the people sought it. I have been in Egypt, and, though young, can understand the difference of a Sultan and of a Pasha. What country was ever so treated as this is? what Sovereign was ever a

father as the Sultan is to us? You shall not go away from the house of a Jumbellat, and not know what the Sultan has done. The Mountain produces ship loads of oil and silk. There are 40,000 men fit to bear arms; and all the Sultan takes from us is £17,000; whoever heard of such a tax? Then he pays back to us for ourselves £13,500. Then the troops here, by which we have our present properity, cost (giving the details) £30,000. Then the commission we asked for, and which we offered to pay, but which he pays, comes to £2500 for the year, so that he lays out money for the Mountain. He has taken no one's property. Emir Beshir took £200,000 a year, oppressed the people and cut off the Sheiks. But this is not all; we are now saved from two things, that did us most evil. If a man committed a petty crime, the Emir took money from him, and his servants too, so every accusation was believed. If a great crime was committed there was no redress but by the musket, and therefore was the Mountain filled with hatred, and the interest (faida) of every man was not what he could gain, but how he could injure his enemy." Here he stopped, leaving the Pasha and myself in astonishment. On my expressing my surprise to hear from him such things, he asked why? I answered, in consequence of what I have heard at Beyrout and elsewhere. "What have you heard?" "That the Mountain was divided into two parts, and the one looked to France to aid them, the other to England,

and that could only be because they were oppressed by their Government."

He was embarrassed and did not answer. The Pasha then said, "My surprise has been not less great in consequence of what I have heard of you at Constantinople and at Beyrout among my people." "What was that?" "That you were our enemy; that you hated us and plotted with every foreign intriguer, whom you thought would help you. You know that from the time I first saw you at Ibtedeen, I have been your friend with the Pasha of Saïda, and you know that such and such a conversation took place respecting it:" the Bey assented. "I then looked on you as a young man whom kind treatment might recover. I now see that you are an intelligent one, and really and in heart our friend. I am proud of what I have said in your behalf. I will be your vakil henceforward,—when you come to Beyrout, you will be my guest, and whoever touches you touches me."

The Bey did not respond, and for some time he was a prey to anxiety, which I thought I could read. I believed every word he had spoken to be honest; it was the truth but not the whole truth; his position of dependant was fixed, his animosity against, and fears of, the French party were fixed. He was probably deeply compromised, and in the back ground there was the dread of the Porte, and the idea of protection against an extreme case by

means of his foreign connexion; in fact he had neither light to see his way, nor resolution of character enough to walk of himself.

He again turned to me and said, "What do they say of me in your country?" I answered that in my country they are busy about their own affairs, and know nothing and care nothing about what passes elsewhere. "Ajaib!" he exclaimed, "but then what do they say of me at Beyrout?" "The last thing I heard of you was that you had had a meeting of your friends, as you fancied held with the utmost secrecy, and that you had sent for a relative, in whose village there is an American Missionary, and sent him down to the English consul at Beyrout, to consult him about getting up a sham quarrel to distract the Turkish authorities, and befool your friend here, the Pasha, and so get the Messaa put off for the winter, fatigue and disgust the Porte, and thus leave you the people to oppress as before."

As I proceeded, I observed his face work and his knees tremble, but I went on. I was resolved not to be the occasion of a sham reconciliation, and, since we had entered on the matter, to do what I could to make both make clean breasts of it. The Pasha, on his side, was equally embarrassed, and threw out such signals of distress as he had disregarded when made by me.

The Bey now commenced a long explanation, so mumbled that I could scarcely comprehend a word.

The Pasha deprecated, the Bey persisted, and when I had left them sufficient time to become hopelessly embroiled, I interfered, and said that I had cited the incident only because he wanted to know what was said of him. I did not ask whether it was true or false; but while such things were said, it was clear that they would be repeated. They would travel to Constantinople, they would be written to Paris and London, where the Turkish Ambassador would hear them, and write them again to Constantinople. The effect would be to raise suspicion there, and the day might come that an order thence would send him to prison, or dispose of him without it; and neither on one side his European friends, nor on the other his friend the Pasha be able to save him; or the French Government might be exasperated, and raise the Maronites, and his house be burnt again. The Pasha took up my words, and repeated them one by one, adding that I had expressed what was passing in his own mind. The Bey then asked me what he should do. I answered that if he could do what I should advise, I had told him already. "You have told me nothing." "Did I not say to you when I arrived, Let your past adversity be a jewel?" "What did that mean?" "Experience. Now I shall be more explicit. If I were in your place I should reason thus:—I have seen my father slain and his homestead ravaged, yet I, who am not his eldest son, have come into possession of all his lands: I am head of the first

house among an ancient race; I have authority placed in my hands; all this I owe to my sovereign, a sovereign who dealt kindly with my country. My father was but a servant in this country, I have become chief; if disturbances occur I will suffer first and most; let me then avoid the very appearance of what will give umbrage to that Sultan. Nothing can do so more than concerting with foreigners."

The Pasha again repeated my words, and dwelt upon them, and after a great deal more in the same sense, and it being now near three in the morning, he took his leave. I retired with him, not wishing to remain alone with the Pasha; but after I had gone to bed and everybody had retired, the Pasha opened the door, and sitting down on the bed said, "I could not rest till I had told you that, if he was in the wrong, we were so also; twice he has been thrown into prison, and though no doubt that would not have happened had he been prudent, yet we ought to have taken another course and made him find in us the protection he sought elsewhere." Then, after some civil speeches on the course I had taken, which I did not fail to reciprocate, he retired; and, satisfied with the results of the evening, and thinking I had brought both parties to look favourably on each other, I turned my face to the wall, and slept.

27*th.*—This morning I awoke with less confidence. Saïd Bey is in character suspicious, irresolute and weak, and the tempter is at hand.

The forenoon was spent in noting what went on in the room in which the Pasha was proceeding with his census. Saïd Bey was exceedingly active—sending man after man to detect concealed persons, and each new pressure bringing more and more men to light. It was like an oil press—another turn and another squirt. The chiefs helped the Government to detect the men, the people to detect the property. There was now no longer any objection to my remaining here this day as I intended originally, and Saïd Bey was anxious to keep me, so I allowed the Pasha to depart alone in the afternoon. Our host did not feel himself bound to the like demonstrations as on the departure of Emin Effendi, and did not accompany him. Coming immediately to me he said, "Now that I am my own master I welcome you." I said, after the departure of your distinguished guests I am a small matter; he replied, half embracing me, "You suffice for me." I begged him not to think of me, but to attend to the troop around him, and he went, saying, We will have at least the evening to ourselves. About supper time I received a message to know whether he and I should dine in the front hall by ourselves, or whether I should like to see an Arab dinner? Choosing the latter, the tray was brought into the room where I was sitting, and fifty or sixty persons crowded in after it. Now I understood the pile of pilaff of which the Pasha had spoken. The cloth was laid on the floor, then the stool, *scemni*, then

the brass tray, or *sofra.* So far it was Turkish, now slipped in the Arabic; a large tray was brought in and set down, and the whole contents transferred to the table (sofra). From the centre, from a deep round copper dish of the size of a wheelbarrow's wheel, rose a pile of pilaff; but twice as large must have been the tray that bore the whole sheep. Around this were placed the dishes, like the planets round the sun; the thin scons were rolled up and laid on the ground all round under the table. When the Bey and I were seated, he invited from the group one by one till we were ten; that is as many as could comfortably sit. I was waited for to begin, and pleading my ignorance he shewed me the way. They eat the pilaff, not at the end of the meal, but with every dish, pouring spoons full of the sauce of the dish they like best on the part of the pilaff they dig in. There was a dish before each; they were all different, and each skipped about to his neighbour's mess. I did not vary my attentions, chancing in that before me, if not on one better than I had ever tasted, at least on one better than which I had never tasted. It was a ragout of mutton, the meat soft as butter without losing its flavour. There was a green vegetable, wild herb, with an agro dolce sauce, the sweet and the acid of which were slightly touched, and its soupçon of richness embellished the simplicity of the pilaff when poured over it.

The meal is despatched rapidly; as each finishes,

he rises and retires back, the *lein-brick** is brought to him to wash, another takes his place at the table, and so on till the whole are served. Thus it is that the enormous piles of pilaff were explained. We sat down ten persons to a meal sufficient for sixty, and it was finished; for, reversing our order of courses, six times, not the dishes, but the guests were changed. Yesterday there had been five such tables, and Saïd Bey told me that he has at times fed 1000 persons, and that the tables went on for two hours; allowing ten minutes for each five tables, would just suffice for that number. This is indeed lordly and patriarchal hospitality, and covers a multitude of sins. I do not know that the chance of having the roof burnt down once in ten years, when so redeemed, may not outweigh the churlish tranquillity of our ensured residences. Those who sat are partizans. Thus it is that Sheik Saïd expends his substance on the poor.

The cookery here offers peculiarities and dishes unknown to the Turks. The seed of the fruit pine, scattered all over the country, is used, as in England in the time of Elizabeth, in every dish, sweet and savoury—to the savoury it gives mellowness, to the sweet, substance and flavour. Of the sweet dishes I remarked two, one in which it is stewed in the celebrated dried apricots of Damascus, the other small patties with a shortbread crust composed of this pine-seed and almonds crushed together, with a

* Ewer and basin.

sprinkling of semolina and sugar. One dish reminded me of the many resemblances I found between the cookery of Barbary and the Highlands: it is shortbread. It is served as square cakes, the thickness of our shortbread. The resemblance first struck me, but when I tasted I thought it different, and inquired how it was made, and was told it was with equal parts of flour, sugar and butter. It then occurred to me, as the composition was exactly the same, that the difference of taste arose from the butter having a bad flavour, and semolina being used instead of flour, which made me suspect that it contained almonds. The Highlanders, not having semolina in the north, have substituted flour; I would recommend to our housewives to return to the original plan.

Semolina is not the word, but bourgoul. The grain is malted, dried and crushed. It makes an excellent pilaff, and for all culinary purposes is preferable to flour. It makes better soup than macaroni, and from it they make their delicious pastry. It acquires such tenacity that the thin leaves are formed by taking a lump and throwing it out so that it falls on a slab of wood; the pastrycook shifts his hold, turning it and throwing it, till it stretches out as thin as a sheet of paper.

The sprouting causes increase of bulk, and if the process is arrested at the proper moment a slight and agreeable acidulation is acquired, together with

the softness and remarkable tenacity of substance which I have described.

When I rose from the table the Bey rose too, but he told me he did so on my account, as the master of the house has to sit on till all the guests are served. We retired to the large hall, and thither one by one the guests followed us. In their portly abbas and white turbans, as they were seated around on the floor or the divan, they might have been grouped for a picture of Kaled and his companions reposing after the conquest of Syria. I had frequently remarked that common character of decay in the Arabs and Greeks—loquacity; but these Arabs, if Arabs they be, have retained what the Greeks have lost — ceremony and silentiousness. But this only holds in a social point of view; once any sort of business is begun their tongues are set loose and there is no stopping them.

My host seemed to set about thinking of the things that would interest me, and with the occasional assistance of a squinting Deli Bashi, succeeded in communicating to me many things I was glad to know. One person he pointed out to me of the blood of Emir Beshir, whose father had taken part in the persecution and death of his father. He told me that some months ago God had sent him a son, and during a month the house was crowded with people who came to wish him joy, for the people loved him much; some had come three days' journey. What could I say to them, said he, but

"God grant that your children may live;" and then I set meat before them, and I sat with them while they ate.

The Maroni love us (the Druzes) for two things: 1st, we do not want to make converts of them, and do not like to see them become Mussulmans; 2nd, we do not like to see their daughters married to Mussulmans.

'A Druze may become a Christian, but no Christian can become a Druze; those that are Druzes were Druzes from ancient times, and no more can become so.

The peasantry on his lands pay him one-third of the grain, where the seed and oxen are their own. They give him half of the silk and oil.

When he had exhausted his budget, of which I give the above as samples, he began to question me; first as to the points of a horse, and then as to horse-racing. Then he proceeded to the House of Commons, and inquired what their business was. He could form—happy ignorance—no idea of any business of an assembly, besides the municipal affairs of their own Megilis. When I attempted to describe a law, he was driven to extremities like myself, and appealed to every one round the room if they had ever heard of such a thing. I endeavoured to explain it by "the plan of Chekib Effendi;" then they said, "That happens once for all." I told them we made such plans every year, and when I mentioned that we made in one year as many as 200, there were

exclamations all round of Vai! Vai! and the business of a European assembly assumed in their eyes form and consistency.

28*th*.—I have described our host's dress on the day of our arrival. The next day he wore the uniform of Mehemet Ali, in whose army he had held the rank—a very low one—of Yuz Bashi. The officers wore it of any colour, and his taste was not manifested in the selection. It was grey with black embroidery; and with his sallow complexion, and heavy features the change was more remarkable than even in ladies who by chance have on one day a dress that suits their complexion and the next, one that suits their taste. To-day, the official personages being gone, and perhaps also in consequence of a discussion we had on dress, he appeared in the long oriental anters and jubbé; the latter was of canary-yellow cloth lined with sable, the other of rich yellow silk, and the shalvars of the same. I don't know if the colour was selected with a view to complexion, but he seemed to be parading the properties of a theatre before a rehearsal of Bayazed or Othello. I was to start this day, and as I remained later in my room writing, he came to me and said he was very busy; but that if I would not stay another day he must put off his work that we might have some time together, as he had much to say to me. He had sent for a young man who had been in England to serve as an interpreter, and had before offered him to me, to go with me. He was sent for, and the

first word he uttered in translating was, "What is the Prince's name in England?" I did not know what to answer, as I saw he wanted to get again on politics, and I merely said, "We don't change the names of strangers." He got angry and sent the interpreter away. He then commenced himself a long story about the English and Turkish Governments being one, and his being a great friend of General Rose (they do give brevet rank), and his anxiety to put things in order, and to put an end to feuds. We were interrupted by dinner or breakfast, and while the interpreter was presenting me with a napkin after washing, when we were done, he whispered, "What my master wanted to know, when he asked you what his name was in England, was, if the English were going to make him Emir of all the Mountain, like Emir Beshir." To avoid further discussion, as I saw how useless it was with such weakness and such passions, I hastened my departure, and went only to take leave of him. He would not, however, let me go, he sat down: the conversation he said was left unfinished, and went on, "and I have a question to ask you: the Arabs hold to the sacredness of bread and salt, you have seen much, you know our affairs; I have no one else to tell me what I am to do." I inquired if his question had reference to gaining something he had not got, or to keeping what he had. He seemed to guess my meaning, and earnestly disavowed any ambitious plans. He pressed again, and I said, a man cannot serve two

masters. Rescue the mountains from this disgraceful dependence, and you will make yourself indeed a chief among your people, or at least you will be an honest man. He again appealed to the bread and salt. I told him that all I had said was for his good.

This conversation vividly recalled the last one I had had with Milosh. He told me of Constantinople being made a "Free port"; and I answered him that within the year he would be a fugitive at Odessa or a wanderer in America. But he went to Semlin, not Odessa, and started in fourteen months, not twelve.

The Bey was sumptuous in the leave-taking; honours and ceremonies in these countries are a possession which are neither trafficked with nor given away: to me they were prodigality itself. He kept standing on the terrace till I was out of sight, much to my annoyance; for my hired horse, with mean equipments, though a good roadster, was a stubborn brute at starting. He objected to quitting the meanest stables and the commonest fare; judge then the desperate effort he made to remain the guest of the Jumbellat.

CHAPTER VI.

A SHEIK'S HABITATION.

We descended into and crossed the valley by the road by which we had arrived. I had not then, however, half seen its beauties; there are two waterfalls under Muchtara; our road lay up the valley, and after climbing nearly to the top, we had to pick our way along the ledge of a precipice, whence the view was alarmingly lonely. It is not here as elsewhere, mountains, hills, plains and valleys; other names must be invented. The valley is one of denudation, cutting through a stratum of limestone, at least a thousand feet thick. This stratum is composed of layers of rock varying from two or three to twenty and thirty feet in thickness, of different degrees of durability, the thicker being the hardest. These courses are repeated, so that there are formations; on one escarpment I counted about thirty. The effect may be imagined of these tiers of precipices or rosy rock, with entwining patches of rich soil, carefully treasured up and planted with trees of dark foliage.

The larger streams cut straight courses through this mass, but wherever water gathers, filters or

flows, the mass is cut into; the terraces follow the windings of the soil, braving it round headlands, nestling through coves; here stretching in straight horizontal lines for miles, there piled up one above another in endless rows, in the hollow of steep and valley, as if they were the seats of an amphitheatre for nations to assemble. These terraces are generally not more than six feet wide, and you see the Druzes turning, scaling, and descending them, with a plough like a rude branch, and a pair of cattle approaching in dimensions to, and vying in shagginess with, goats.

On the summit of this mass the stone is so flat that threshing floors are made by sweeping the earth away. These look like patches of snow, over which sand has blown. The first time I saw one I could only make it out after close inspection. This is the rock which gave to the Mountain its name of "milk." But it is not the Mountain as seen to-day that suggested the epithet. On the morrow of the Deluge there were tracts white as milk; and the scanty sprinkling of soil which now impairs its brightness, must have been far scantier still, when the Hebrews first beholding it, designated it with that monumental exactitude, which characterizes the nomenclature of the ancient world.

The valley of Muchtara into which I was now looking, combines as much of the peculiar culture of the country as is compatible with wildness, as much of the grandeur of its scenery as may be allied to

softness. The rectangular shape and fantastic colours, the theatric blocks, and masonic precipices under the tempered sky of opal or of amber, make it appear like a thing of paint seen through an atmosphere of glass. There is the distinctness of Cuyp or Berghem given to rocks, designed with the architectural hardihood of Martin, and here and there interspersed groups such as might have been supplied by Watteau, had he had Druzes for his models. I am citing Watteau and Cuyp and Martin for scenes which embellished the poetry of the Bible, and were trodden by the sandals of the Prophets.* What can better render the diversity of its nature from our conceptions of grandeur, and its beauty from thoughts of grace which the masters of art have gathered in our climes?

The trees, besides the olive and the mulberry, are the fruit-bearing pine, the turpentine pine, the prickly-leaved oak; these are rare on the bare mountain side, they are however found in the villages or along the terraces, with the poplar and a tree like the oak called mace. The deciduous trees have now lost their foliage; the verdure is less than at other seasons. There are the mulberry and fig, and other fruit trees and vines, and their grey stems are nearly invisible; otherwise there is no sign of winter; the season is the most delightful that can be imagined. Though at the height of 2500 to 3000 feet, there is no sense of cold, and a blue cloudless

* Ezekiel at least.

sky with a sun which seems to burn, but only lightens. The villages and horses have also their distinctness; and the flat roof and the grey sward wall, and the not unfrequent Saracenic or Gothic arch bear, as everything else, the impress of Palestine.

I am writing this a day after its date, and after travelling for a day between the first and second ridges of the Lebanon, and I may here add what this second day suggested. I never saw a region which so graphically presented the event, and so distinctly preserved the traces, of an upheaving of the strata. There is the mass which forms the first range and which presents its escarpment to the sea, lying flat; its substance and contents every where exposed by the gnawing of the water, so that it is like a cut-out piece of pastry. On the eastern side it is twisted up and broken off; it recurs in fragments, and then is laid up on end and forms the ridge of the Lebanon. No deposit of any kind has come to interrupt the complete view of the operation; you see as it were before you the whole mass heaving up, then bursting in the line of the present chain, the thrown up fragments sinking in, and leaving the one great streak on edge.

The various qualities of limestone, so useful in building, are thus found every where: interspersed with it is a small seam of clay, with shells imbedded, which serves them for pottery and for various domestic purposes. They make jars for their grain, &c. in wicker, and plaster them with this

clay: they make beautiful smooth floors with it, and singular fire places.

They work their doors, windows, and presses, all round in figures of it, and then paint them in colours. I frequently remarked the emblem of Morocco, the double triangle, while much in the raised acu-pointed figures bore also a close affinity to the Moorish. It is but the ruder houses that are so embellished, the clay not being capable of receiving the same finish as the gypsum: it is also used for their terraces. Lime, strange to say, is not used; you see it at times employed in building, but very rarely; either the stones are fitted together without any cement or more clay is used. The terraces of the houses are also of earth and clay, and in some places a caoline earth is pounded and added. They are consequently very heavy and have to be rolled after every rain; the weight is thus enormous, yet every dwelling is liable to a forcible entrance of the storm. The palace of Ibtedeen is so constructed, and one night of storm while I was there every-body was on foot all night.

From this digression I must return to the terrace along the valley of Muchtara, I expected to travel all the way along it, but we rose to the edge, and as we passed over the level summit, a headland of the dissected stratum seemed to advance, like a cut out scene in a panorama, to shut out the view. We were not long in reaching Beth Loon the residence of Hattar Bey, a sorry village of 25 houses: that is,

25 might be repaired out of twice as many in ruins. It stood on the brink of the precipice; and on a projecting ledge an oak fixed into the massive rocks afforded at once a point of view and a signal object. There a carpet and a cushion were spread, and there I was served with sherbet, coffee and nargilla.

The house inhabited for the present by the Bey is of the humblest order, and his son, the father being absent, and his few attendants, recalled the wilder districts of Albania. The room was curious; in the middle a column supported the roof; it was wood work all round and panelled on the two sides facing each other. There were small trap slides near the floor, about a dozen in number, and corresponding doors as if to lockers above; these were stores of grain, rice, flour and bourgoul, which are poured in above, and as wanted, drawn from the trap slides below. Besides these, there were spaces left for pigeon holes one above the other, and narrow presses for hanging clothes. On the other two sides were alcoves surrounded with very nice carvings in wood, and curtains drawn across, they exactly resembled the standing bed places of the Highlanders. I thought they were for the same purpose; but they were only for stowing the beds which at night are laid down on the floor; the one custom explains the other, and they are evidently from the same source; the mattress is called by them mattra, the coverlid haf (hap). There were, among other Highland things, the wooden candlestick placed in the middle

of the floor, and the box with the two inside boxes across, the tops of which being raised keep up the lid; then at supper we had scons and shortbread.

The scons are thus made. A fire is lit in a small round oven, like a chimney-pot set in the ground; when sufficiently heated, the scons are thrown so as to stick on the side and are cooked immediately. They are laid down at meals like a mass of doubled newspapers; they are called Marcoop. The supper was very tolerable, sweet dishes prevailing; when we were done the table was removed near the door for the attendants; and a poor old man, a passing stranger, walked in, and after saluting sat down; when he had eaten he in like manner retired. The people here looked worse than I had seen them before, and on asking the Turk whom I found here, respecting their state, he said, "they are very industrious, every house here has possessions of its own, some are very poor as you see, but none want a belly-full. What can you expect after seven years of burning? What seraï or village of the Druzes that the Maronites have not destroyed, or if the Maronites, that the Druzes have spared. Then the people of the Hauran came; then the Arnauts of Omar Pasha; and the people were then stripped as well as the houses: even the Tantours were collected for the silver." I asked who was to blame for all this. He said, Mehemet Ali in part, but chiefly themselves. He had a black servant who went out with me, when I took a stroll in the vivid moonlight; he treated them

with less ceremony, said they were no better than animals; and, drawing himself up to his height and standing on a sort of pedestal formed by a ledge of rock, the moon shining on his black features and reflected from his jetty skin, he seemed to retaliate all the European scorn on these remnants of Europe's earliest models.

I had been so many nights without a flea, that I had forgotten their existence, and did not rig my preventive curtain. They marched up to their nightly feast over the mattrass on either side, with the steadiness of phalanx—I slaughtered till I was tired, and then had to make an outcry and get my curtain; but it was of little use as they had invaded the coverings I had to take with me; so I never closed an eye. What a strange existence for these agile little animals, to find a mountain of roost nightly laid out for them on which they scramble, and then

> "Look around
> "And choose their ground,
> "And take their slice."

The natives here take no heed of their depredations and were infinitely amused at my trouble. One of them said, "Our Bey could not sleep without a couple of hundred of them in his bosom," indeed they seem to derive a pleasure from the titillation. I have heard of a girl who was so fond of wasp stings that she caught them and kept them for her private gratification, so it might be that the lesser vemon of the flea may not be altogether disagreeable to skins

long used to them, and whose apprenticeship began in the cradle. Some purpose may also be intended, they may serve to vivify the skin and supply the place of cleanliness or to enforce it: they serve as a drain, and I should calculate that the people eat at supper a couple of mouthfuls for the supply of the fleas.

20*th.*—I started to-day for the south, hankering after Tyre and Sidon. I had nearly to retrace my steps, and crossing the valley and ascending the opposite cliffs, I returned for some time along its brow, and then ascended the higher part which runs under the lofty ridge of the mountain. I passed through five villages, viz. Baruk (25 houses), Maazin (25), El Chraïbe (70), Badaran (15), Gibea (15). At El Chraïbe I rode into a serai now in ruins; which from the walls and its height might have been taken for a ruin of the Crusaders, yet it was ruined only three years ago; it belongs to the Jumbellat family, but must have been erected by them from some ancient house, if I may judge by the ancient and handsome tombs still standing before it. The tombs of the Druzes have three ornaments; two like heads of Thyrsi, and one in them in the middle like a fleur-de-lis. These are equally at the head and feet, but on these ancient ones they were only at the head, and the covering of the sarcophagus was of a peculiar form. As to the age of the buildings, there is no means of making it out; the durability of the stone, the permanency of usages and

the dryness of the air which leaves no moss or verdure, deprive you of all means of distinguishing that which has just been raised from that which has endured a couple of thousand years. As I entered Niha, I came upon a house of which the walls might have been taken for those of an Hellenic city. At this place I was unwillingly detained, as it was but 9o'clock, according to the Turkish manner of reckoning; that is, it was yet three hours to sunset; we stopped at a good looking house.

I had got off before I found that the master was not at home, but a boy his son, and a girl, would not let me go, so I went up stairs. The women wore the Tantour; they cleared out a very nice room, and presently an old dragoman was brought to act as interpreter. He told me that the mistress of the house bade me welcome, and, as I had expressed my anxiety to get on that night, pressed me to stay; that the house was mine to-night, to-morrow, or as long as I chose to stay. Everything was here as different as possible from last night. If that reminded me of the wild Albanians, this did of the civic Greeks of Roumelia, before they had got the ill manners of Europe. The room had its floor in clay, which was covered with mats and rugs; the walls were in clay, figured and coloured round the windows and apertures. The mat was removed in one part where was the hollow place for the fire, of charcoal of course. When I was seated, the younger branches of the family came to make their salu-

tations, and on being told to be seated they sat. I find it impossible to describe these things, they are inconceivable to us, and yet they are the most interesting part of travelling in these countries. Relatives then came in and began to apologise for the absence of the master of the house, and to supply his place.

Fire was placed in the smooth cup-like hollow on the floor, and charcoal heaped on it; then an iron platter, with long ornamental iron handle and a spatula secured by a chain. I could not think what it was for, but soon saw it filled with coffee from a leather pock; it was the toaster; whilst my coffee was preparing, a collation appeared of milk, honey, sweetmeats and scons, which they eat together; they double up the scons like a little bonnet, with this they take a little dibs, then put it into the milk; dibs, milk and cake all go into the mouth together. It was quite charming to see the sedulous decorum of the whole family, the children striving as to which was to bring the napkin or pour the water; all the service of the house seemed to be performed by them. From the terrace I counted forty houses inhabited, and forty houses in ruins.

30*th*.—A heavy rain detained me this morning for three hours; it then cleared up, and I proceeded to the clambering up and down which in this country is travelling. A few slight changes deprived the scenery of its Lebanon peculiarities. Instead of the rectangular masses which made every water-

course a valley of denudation, I passed over slanting strata, presenting the escarpments chiefly to the west and allowing the water to run down their backs. Instead of the pale rock there is a mantle of colour and light. Gebel-Lezin rose in front, separated by a deep gully running from the south to meet the river of Sidon. The sombre day deepened on this mountain its murky hues. Presently the clouds dispersed, the sun shone out and called forth its strange colouring, deep red brown, to dark green and black. The dark pines looked light on its inky sides. Our track lay along the valley on the upper part of the talus, and under a chasm of precipices, in one of them, which stood boldly and fantastically forward, I was told that there was an extensive fort quarried in the rock, in which flocks of sheep might be stowed. This was the last refuge of the celebrated Fakreddeen. I could distinguish a couple of apertures worked by man: the entrance was too far off to visit. We came in about two hours in sight of the village of Lezin, at least of a large establishment, with terraces laid out square on the sloping back of the prolongation of Gebel Lezin. It was right before us, and I expected that a deep chasm must separate it from us. Presently I found this was the head of the valley, and the stream there leaps over a ledge of four or five hundred feet, and then reaches zig-zag down to the bottom of the chasm. I sent the horses on to the village, and went to the centre of the

point of view, looking right down the valley, and having a full view of the waterfall on my right. There I sat till a thick cloud, that had mustered in the bottom of the valley, had travelled up, and the rain began to fall abundantly. I should have been thoroughly wet before reaching the village, if an umbrella and cloak had not been pressed upon me by a lady at whose house I had stopped to ask for a cup of coffee.

Here, too, the master of the house was absent, but his wife, a remarkably handsome woman of about twenty-five, with an air of resolution fit for a grenadier, made me understand that I was welcome, and the house mine for this or any other sort of weather. The house was large and empty. She was alone, so to avoid giving trouble, I asked to have some pilaff, but nothing else. She sent to me for five piastres (1*s.*) for rice, as her husband had left her no money. I inquired to what creed she belonged, and was answered "*Christian.*" The value of rice was not more than 20 paras, 40 of which goes to the piastre.

The room I was shewn into resembled in every respect a barn, save that the walls and floors were plastered smooth with clay. Along one side a mat was spread, and higher up carpets, and still higher coverlids (shilteh). It was about 30 feet square, and with two stanchions to support the transverse trees which sustained the roof, and which were not long enough to reach from wall to wall. This was

one half of the house; the partition wall was composed of clay bins. After I had contemplated sufficiently the beauties of this place I thought I might venture *but*, that is into the outer apartment. It was like the one I left, empty and bare, except that near the door there was the little fireplace, môcade, which might be taken for some curious desk set down there by accident. They seem to make it a rule never to place it regularly, that is, at an equal distance from any two points, or parallel to any line of the building. My hostess seemed surprised, but welcomed me. The cold that had accompanied the rain made the fire an object of considerable interest. She had been squatted on a small square coverlid at her cookery; she brought me a similar quilt and cushion, and laid it on the floor on the other side. She then continued her work at my pilaff, driving away the fowls with a long reed, and, in the interval of both occupations, smoking a nargillé. It was the graush, or nut nargillé; so called from having a cocoa-nut for the bowl. It has no snake, but a straight reed; the stalk is held while you smoke. It is the same as the Calioun of the Persians. After a few whiffs, she handed me over the nargillé, which I, in like manner, returned. When the rain ceased, her sister came in, very like her, with less beauty and more liveliness, and of all the Arabs I have seen the one best qualified to teach Arabic. Her nargillé too was brought, and the two sisters, sitting toge-

ther, were a vignette for the Arabian Nights; they soon dropped their veils, which at first they had held across the face, and presented in a hovel the grace of a studio, and the manners of a court.

A wonderful charm is given to society by the use and recurrence of a form of salutation not performed by taking off a piece of dress. Eastern conversation and intercourse is interspersed with salutations, as writing is with various signs that mark pauses, inquiries, or admiration. The Arabs are even more sedulous than the Turks, and they add another motion. The Turkish Temenas consists in raising the hand to the lips and forehead. The Arabs carry it first to the heart, and the motion is singularly graceful in women.

In the course of the evening two brothers-in-law came in; like the sisters, they were handsome and well-dressed. The oldest, about thirty, was most prepossessing in manners and appearance, and I was more and more astounded at the demand of the five piastres for my supper. Elsewhere, my hosts, to whom it would have been a deadly affront to offer anything, were on the alert to prevent presents from being given to the servants. When, next morning, I was leaving this place two of those who had come in the evening, came to ask for money, and then ran to their mistress to shew it; in my presence she counted it over. This whole village was Christian.

The apartment I have described had on two

sides the bins of clay, and in one of them there being an opening, I asked leave to inspect it. I found within a small slip made the most of for other bins, and jars, one of which contained Leben or Yourt, prepared for winter by being drained, then rolled into balls and preserved in oil. I tasted one and it had little or no acidity. I give a plan of this house, as it is a fair specimen of their buildings. The two rooms do not enter into one another, they both open into the corridors, at each end of which there is a small separated room about eight feet square. There are no chimneys, but there are small square openings in the wall near the top on every side.

31*st*.—This was a beautiful morning. I could not leave this place without returning to have a view of the valley and the waterfall, the volume of which was now much increased. The water is cutting its way upwards over the ledge of rock, reminding me of Pella in Macedonia. There is a magnificent theatre of cliffs cut out in like manner; along my course southward the valley ascended, still cut out by the water and each harder layer formed a ledge for a little waterfall. We were now approaching the southern extremity of the Lebanon. From the day before we had lost the horizontal masses; here the stratum was inclined, and when we got out of the valley as it were on the surface of the mountain, the strangest appearance was presented. The grey rocks stood up or lay all around, you could move

in no direction without clambering over boulders or square fragments which sometimes looked like towers; or the rock was honeycombed and worked into holes and crevices. It was a wilderness of stones. This thorough contrast with the rectangular massive and smooth surfaces of rock, was produced by no difference of substance but solely by a slight change of position. This stratum was inclined, and consequently when the softer stone was worn away the hard stratum above broke off and tumbled or remained standing; whereas, whilst lying horizontally the upper one protected that which was beneath, and they were regularly eaten away together and only on the edges; that is, on the sides of the valleys.

We now descended through these heaps of stones, and, leaving a little village on our right, in about two hours reached Kefar Hané. Every house here has at least one side composed of a projecting fragment of rock; the terraces became now less frequent, and the mulberry was displaced by the vine. The vines are planted on the walls and propped up so that the land between is available for culture; a most excellent plan, as the vine takes very little from the soil and its foliage is here a protection for the fields.

About an hour from Kefar Hané as I was ascending the last ridge of the Lebanon to the south, from which I expected to gain a sight of Galilee, I was surprised by the appearance of a party of horse

and foot coming over the hill to the right, and racing through a field as if playing at jerreed. I stopped to observe their movements; one of them galloped towards me and I soon recognised a groom of Emin Effendi, who told me that his master was at a village close by, and that this was a party of the Messaa.

On reaching the summit I beheld the lake of Tiberias or of Galilee, which appeared like a thin cloud suspended over a valley not more than 15 miles distant: it is 30. To the left Gebel Sheik (Hermon) soared into the sky, the top covered with snow. Turning to the right we soon reached the indicated village and arrived just in time; for there was Emin Effendi under a tree just getting up from dinner, and the pilaff and yourt still standing on the carpet I sat down without delay. The remainder of the day we made a holiday in every sense; we strolled among the rocks, enjoying a beautiful heaven and an unrivalled prospect; we geologized and nightfall overtook us at a trickling fountain matted with myrtle, and at some distance from our village; but horses had been ordered to the spot, and we returned by moonlight to a merry supper in one of the most wretched hovels I ever entered—a supper not to be despised in any place.

These houses might be supposed not the work of men's hands but of otters' tails, but for the claim of authorship, a human hand, (the left one) plentifully stamped upon the work. The clay is fashioned into

all sorts of things, the purpose of some of which I could imagine, whilst that of others baffled my ingenuity, nor could I learn. In the one prepared for me, there was scarcely room under the raised estrade used for sleeping, for my horses. Above the horses roosted the cocks; both combined to make me pass what the French call a white, but what I should call a black, night. The people of the hut had no kind of vessel out of which I could get a drink of milk; their food is olives and cakes, the latter earthy as also the olives; ten olives is the rations for a full grown man, yet on this diet they live to an extraordinary age. They are in rags, except some of the Sheiks, and are all mendicants. They will come and stand round the cooking which goes on in the open air, and if one is asked to go and get some eggs, he will shrug his shoulders, and when told he will be paid for his trouble, he answers, "there is none." If another is asked to sell a sheep or a fowl, he answers, "it is not mine." The filth is revolting. It would seem as if they took a particular pride in exhibiting their rebellion against the law, originally proclaimed from Horeb and afterwards repeated from Mecca, both in regard to their persons and the cleanliness of their villages.

The people here are Metuali; that is followers of Ali or Shiïtes. The district belongs to Saïd Bey, by the title that his father possessed it; but what title his father had to it is not known. The other villages of the district are represented by the officers

who have surveyed them, to be as bad, if not worse than this. The Metuali extend from this point down over the Beled Bsharré to Acre, and as they may be reckoned one of the populations of the Lebanon I propose paying their chief Sheik a visit.

CHAPTER III.

THE MESSAA.

December 3rd.—I AM very well satisfied with having been detained yesterday. It made me acquainted with the weak point of their domestic architecture, the roofs. The whole village was in commotion about their roofs, as the crew of a leaky vessel about their pumps; the able bodied part of the population were aloft all day, rolling away. As regards the picturesque, the square form would be a great loss, and it would also be a great loss to the people who use the roofs in summer to sleep on, and for various domestic purposes; besides it is the only place belonging or adjoining to their habitations which is clean. They have lime in abundance and might have, not at a cost but at a great saving, admirable terraces.

For becoming acquainted with the state of the country, a year's experience would not equal that of one day during the progress of the Messaa. It lays bare at every turn character and circumstances, tenure of property, construction of laws, application of usages. Every hour the reports come in. We have a succession of pictures and maps of the people and country brought before us.

When, three months ago, I landed on the coast, I heard strange rumours amongst the Europeans of the Census that it was proposed to take, and which was spoken of with indignation and anger; the object being, as every one agreed in telling me, to reduce the mountains to the same condition as the plains, by imposing new taxes, and subjecting the Lebanon to conscription. When I arrived at Deir el Cammar, I naturally questioned my host, the principal man of the place, and he told me that it was impossible to hear at Beyrout anything but lies. That what the Porte was now about to do, and to do in spite of the Consuls, was at the request of the whole people assembled in council. They wanted to have a scale for the raising of the taxes, to prevent oppression and injustice on the part of the Mucatajis. On my expressing astonishment, and perhaps incredulity, he brought friends and neighbours to testify the same thing; and since then I have had reason to estimate the intelligence of the people of Deir el Cammar, as greatly above that of the rest of the country. A contradiction so direct in places so near to one another, and in regard to a passing event about which the whole country was excited, was very surprising, and at the time incomprehensible. A few days later I removed to the palace of Ibtedeen, where I found myself in the very centre of the operation; that is to say, I was there during the period that preceded the commencement, and was myself a witness to that commence-

ment. It began by an experimental essay. A certain number of terraces, and a certain amount of land was marked off, and Bulucks or juries were appointed to rate the produce, whether of silk, olives, or tilled land. This they reduced to Dirhems or Drachmas; the process was simple to them, but very complex and unintelligible to us. They told us that the method was introduced under Selim I., which means nothing more, than that it was employed when their first tribute was paid. But to find applied to land and to produce, the terms which belong to weights and measures, carries us back not only beyond the times of Selim, but beyond the times of Greece and Phœnicia, and places us in face of usages as existing to-day, more ancient than are to be found not only in Europe, but elsewhere in Asia. I saw with my own eyes the work done, not by the agents of the Porte, but by the people themselves, and that according to a method which the Turks did not understand; Emin Effendi, Sadic Pasha, and Sali Effendi, sat by as I did, looking on, endeavouring to comprehend, and getting only a glimmering of what they were about towards the close of the day. This occurred on the 21st of November. The experiment was repeated on the two subsequent days, and it was then that we all proceeded to Muchtara, to begin with Saïd Bey as I have narrated; which commencement suggested to me the keeping of this Diary, which was intended to be the Diary of the Messaa.

The experiment at Deir el Cammar bore on the ability to value; the work now consists in honesty in reporting. Emin Effendi, finding it impossible to make them work by themselves, or to trust to their reports, and being unable to attend himself everywhere, had bethought himself of sending a man of his own with each Buluck, and has employed four engineer officers, who were sent to him under a misapprehension of the word Messaa. He has found amongst persons who would least be suspected of qualifications for such a work, remarkable intelligence, and has animated them all with his own spirit. He lectures them on the difficulties and the greatness of the enterprise, the valuelessness and even the evil of their register when completed, if not correct, and its lasting service to the country if conducted with intelligence and capacity. Consequently we have coming in, now a groom, now a dervish, now an engineer officer, now a cook, now a Perote, with his report. The members of the Bulucks are arraigned, now for sitting in one place to eat, when they had to write in another; now for favouring this chief, now that, in their valuation. In the latter case new juries are empanelled, and sent to value afresh. A property of Saïd Bey, which one Buluck had returned at three dirhems, has been returned by a revising Buluck at eight.

Each Buluck is composed of six; two secretaries, two appraisers and two overseers, chosen by themselves. This constitution is faulty. Two secretaries,

who have merely to make the lists of the property are useless, and besides men fitted for the office are not to be found. Two appraisers do not suffice; for in case of difference there is no one to decide. Two overseers are useless, for Emin Effendi is the overseer, and he should appoint the Nazir, who has only to see that the duty is done. Then the regulation that requires all these to belong to different religions, further embarrasses the operation and in reality affords no security, but the reverse; because the very jealousy which prompts it facilitates foul play. It would therefore be desirable to do away with the Nazirs, leaving them to be appointed by the Commissioner of the Porte, and with one of the secretaries; and to increase the appraisers to three or five. An oath is administered to them in which the words Koran, etc. vary according to their faith, and they are subject to severe penalties in case of false returns. If the above alterations are adopted; if the power of the Commissioners be increased and Emin Effendi continued, or a man of the same character put in his place, the work may go on; otherwise its completion as well as its accuracy, appear to me very problematical.

The Messaa will be equivalent to a general register. In every case of contested property each claimant seeks to have himself placed on the record as in possession; so that a mistake in the entry of a name may not only decide a long pending suit, but suddenly a man's property which no one disputed may

pass to another. A remarkable case occurred to-day.

A peasant came to complain that he had learned that instead of his name that of Saïd Bey had been entered as proprietor of his land. He declared that he was in possession, that his right no one had ever contested, and that the only question with Saïd Bey was, his refusal to sell the land to him. The register on examination was found originally to have borne this peasant's name, which had been erased to make way for that of Saïd Bey. This last had been done by the Druze Kiatib who had no business to interfere, as the peasant was a Christian. On being summoned he produced an order from the agent of Saïd Bey, but written by himself, requiring him to substitute the Bey's name. The Christian Kiatib, sent for to explain how he had concurred in this false return, excused himself by saying that the Druze Kiatib had frightened him. The Vakil of Saïd Bey, who is in attendance on Emin Effendi, was then called, and offered in explanation that Saïd Bey had bought one half of a parcel of ground of which the land in question was the half, and that he had the right to displace the possessor of the other half by paying him the value. Emin Effendi determined to examine the case on the spot, and ordered the horses. The Vakil declared the distance to be five hours; twenty of those present had been there, and with one voice declared it to be distant but a hour and a half. After dispatching in other directions two

other Bulucks which had just come in, rating them soundly, and settling that henceforth they should be paid and fed according to the work done, Emin Effendi with Sali Effendi and some officers mounted and departed. This village has thus relapsed from bustle into its tranquil existence. I am seated under the shade of the moving leaves of the mulberry tree, which do not protect me from the heat of a December sun at 3000 feet above the sea.

Either the Commissioner of the Porte will become, through this incident, the instrument of Saïd Bey, or he will put it out of his power to cross him further; he will relieve the people from the fear under which they at present labour, and which makes them hold their tongue.

This subserviency is natural; they have no municipal Government to fall back on. The religious dissensions have broken all cohesion. It is an error to suppose that there are distinct people of Maronites, Druzes, &c. The six classes are everywhere located together, and however small the minority it serves to prevent local union; because in proportion to its weakness is its dependance upon the chief from whose vexations it suffers, in common with the majority.

It may be imagined that a plan maturely considered and formally proposed by their own assembled deputies, by which the sum of their respective imposts should be fixed, and by which collaterally the title of each man to his property should be estab-

lished (for no man borne on the register can be displaced save by a judicial decision) would now relieve them from their fears. But to them the future is clouded and the present indistinct. Ideas of organic change, which so utterly incapacitate a people for the management of their affairs, are floating in their minds;—Saïd Bey to be put up — Emir Beshir restored—England to occupy, or France to rule through a Maronite. Besides the people are so ignorant as not to be aware that the census has been requested by themselves. The night that I slept at Niha the chiefs of the village came to pay me a visit. After some general conversation they asked me what I thought of the Messaa. I answered that it was rather for me to ask them. They said they did not know, and therefore they had asked me. I was surprised, and answered, that it was their own plan, which they denied. I then recounted the circumstances of the assembly at Beyrout; they did not desist from their denial of it till I told them that I had myself read the report made to the Porte, and had with my own eyes seen the beginning of the operation in most strict conformity with rules laid down in that report. Had I been a Beyrout Consul or Dragoman, or their agent, I might have exasperated the whole population by a single word; and so of every other district.

But I was wrong in saying that the change in these people occurred on my bearing testimony to the abovementioned facts. It was after an answer

which I gave them. They had said, "The evaluation is only to put on new taxes, and the census to levy troops," to which I replied, "If the Sultan wanted to put on new taxes, what need has he of the Messaa; he has only to say to the Druzes pay so much, to the Maronites pay so much." The old man, who served as interpreter, was much tickled, and exclaimed, "That is it," and laughed and exclaimed again, till the rest of the party lost all patience in their anxiety to know what I had said. When he did translate the words there was a peal of concurrence. I then continued, "As to the Nizam, if you belonged to any European Government, the present opportunity of your divisions and weakness would be taken to draft away all the arm-bearing men, and possibly to colonize you, and fill your place with peaceable persons; could you for a moment resist such an order, and can you deny that you deserve it?" They were silent. "Truly," said an old man, after a pause, "our hard hands made these ruins. May the Sultan live!"

But for this ignorance and these animosities, the authority of the Porte would be, in this region, surrounded by a prestige which it wanted in regard to the destruction of the other corporations which defied its authority and fell beneath its power. In this case it has had neither to smite, to confiscate, to tax, or to impose conscription. In the other cases, no foreign hand appeared, and in this lies the difference of the results.

There is perhaps no country in the world which, by the rapidity of deterioration, has brought into such close proximity the extremes of the human condition. The Lebanon brings down to yesterday if not the heroic, at least the patriarchal ages, whilst it offers to view this day, an antithesis to these, such as has not even yet been attained to in the States of Europe.

The public business, two generations back, was conducted in open assemblies, to which no one had right of admittance by written law, but from which, by custom, the humblest peasant could not be excluded. His voice, when there, was equal to that of any Sheik; no tax could be otherwise imposed than by general consent, no war levied, no alliance formed, and no innovation practicable, by the mere will of the Emir. Habit was law, until a decision established a new one. This was the guarantee of their independence, the source of their prosperity, the result and cause of that independent bearing and character, which amid the desolations of Syria, has preserved to this day in the Lebanon a nursery of men and soldiers. The traveller in those days was struck with the contrast of their political intelligence with that of the people of Europe. Volney dwells with surprise and delight, on the discourse of the children of ten years of age, who discussed the interests of Daher and Jezzar, knew the number of muskets in this or that camp, the motive of this or that quarrel, and decided on the value of this or that alliance. What a fall in eighty years! A people without a

voice in their Government, or a thought regarding their state; with liberties forced upon them, which they neither love nor wish to use; and seeking not the privilege of governing themselves, but at best a census, that they may know what they have to pay. Using indeed arms, but only to gratify their civil rancour; when mutual wrongs and common suffering have cooled their frenzy, taking refuge in indifference, and glad to be deprived of weapons, having ceased to understand or care for rights.

As to the Sheiks, bad as they were at that time, what a contrast to what they are to-day. Volney says:—

"The large possessions of some families give them too great an influence in the affairs of the nation. Their interests weigh too heavily in the scale of public interests. All the domestic and foreign wars which have troubled the country, have been excited by the ambition and personal objects of the Yezbecki, the Jumbellat, &c. The Sheiks of these houses, who possess themselves alone *one-tenth* of the whole country, make to themselves partizans by their money, and have dragged the rest of the Druzes into their dissensions." The Sheik Saïd now possesses *one-eighth*, or more than the whole body of Sheiks collectively, two generations ago.

In turning over the pages of this writer, which is one of the few books I have with me, I have fallen, to my great surprise, upon a passage which shews that the Messaa was no new invention, but on the contrary a familiar practice.

"The census is re-taken from time to time, to preserve equality in the impositions. The Sheiks and the Emirs have no privilege in this respect, and they may be said to contribute to the public burdens in proportion to their fortune. The collection is made almost without cost; it is at the option of the people to bring it to Deir el Cammar, or the collectors of the Prince travel the country, to receive it after the respective harvests."

I had declined to accompany Emin Effendi, that I might use the interval of quiet in recording, not the immediate occurrences, but the epoch to which they belong. I feel as if about to leave by will a possession to the future historian.

From the close of the great European war, that quarter of the globe presents a series of convulsions, gradually increasing in frequency and in intensity; each movement of the masses grinding down institutions and breaking up the barriers of states. Each losing in the concentration and secrecy of government its cohesion and identity, until the distinction between war and peace has been effaced, and thereby the social bond dissolved.

During the same period, the Ottoman empire, which was in the last stage of decrepitude, has exhibited a change no less astounding, but wholly different. It has, by a violent effort, thrown off the organizations which, springing up by usurpation, had absorbed into themselves the vital powers, and in doing so has regained the force requisite for

external protection. The Janissaries and the Dérébeys being extinguished, were made to contribute from their elements a regular army, and the resources to support the new charge. The central Government then proceeded to a re-conquest of the Empire, subjecting successively the independent tribes from Albania to Curdistan, and the rebellious Pashas from Scodra to Bagdad, to the new military organization; without interfering otherwise with habits, or giving rise to political differences. The result has been a magnificent army and a revenue, amounting this year to more than double what it was in 1833; with the faculty of being more than doubled again by a very simple process. This regeneration, for which there is no parallel in ancient or modern times, has been effected in a single generation, and in face of the most alarming external difficulties. The seal is put on this achievement by the events following the Hungarian war, when Austria and Russia combined, and in a secret understanding with England and France, threatened Turkey with war unless she surrendered the refugees; and being met by a refusal, submitted to withdraw their demands. In a fair contest of arms, the whole military force of Russia and Austria united, could now make no impression on the Ottoman Empire.

But the extirpation of Janissaries and Dérébeys, the creation of an army, the restoration of a navy, the replenishing of the treasury, will not realize even so much as the security of the Empire, unless

the Sheiks of the Lebanon be put down. This is the reason: the recurrence of a struggle between England and France on the soil of Turkey, would not now end as on the last occasion, and would be far more dangerous than would be a conjoint invasion by these two powers. This contingency is always possible, and ultimately certain, whilst the Lebanon presents its present elements of discord. These elements have, moreover, been artificially produced, and produced with a view to this result.

In 1798, the contest between England and France was a sincere one. Russia had indeed involved them in the quarrel, but the war was carried on by them both in perfect sincerity; England having prevailed, restored to the Porte her provinces. The constitutions of England and France have since then undergone a complete change; sincerity between either can no longer be looked for any more in war than in peace, in operations conducted by guns than in operations conducted by despatches. Out of the insincerity of the Governments, a sincere animosity will nevertheless spring up between the nations. It will begin religiously, and end politically; it will begin, reversing the events of 1798, with the Lebanon, and end with Egypt; it will begin, as the case may be, with protecting the Druzes against the Maronites and the French, or with a common protection of the Christians against the Mussulmans. It will end in

a contest for India on the soil of Egypt. That country has been the apple of discord prepared for both by Russia since 1780, and which she has now involved both countries in the desire of possessing. Did not Egypt begin the great war between England and France? Was not Syria used in 1840 for the breaking the great French and English alliance? Even history can here foreshadow her own future course. The thing will be done by their agents, whilst the nations know nothing about it. They will only hear of it when the measures have been taken, and their passions aroused. Besides, another condition has physically been worked out, both for England and France; viz. that both have been rendered perfectly defenceless against attack. At any moment, not only they, but the German Powers also, can be smitten with panic. This you have seen as regards France in 1840. Every Government, therefore, must live every day in the internal conviction that it exists on sufferance, and that Russia can smite it the hour she pleases with a coalition of foreign Powers.

These, then, are the grounds on which I hold the enterprise we are engaged in, trifling as it appears, to affect the future destiny of the whole human race.

If this census be successfully completed, the Lebanon is calmed down. This is something; but is important not on this account. *The Consuls are defeated.* Their defeat is a triumph to the Porte,

and will encourage it to go on. Its triumph will have been ensured by concert between its people and itself against the stranger. It will take courage to give an answer back to the Ambassador at Constantinople. The moment it can do so, it is in a state to retrieve itself entirely; for it can then say to the Russian Minister, "Your army must be withdrawn from Wallachia and Moldavia;" and to the people of the Lebanon, "Now elect a Prince for your ruler according to the precedent of 1694, and as has been done the other day by the people of Servia."*

It may appear inconceivable or incredible that the case should revolve on the pivot which I here indicate. Nevertheless it is so. The Turkish Government has courage enough to defy not only one,

* It was in consequence of the so-far successful progress of the Messaa, that instead of returning to England from Beyrout, I proceeded to Constantinople, with a view to the purposes indicated in the text. Although the Porte did for the moment entertain the idea of an election for the Lebanon, the plan ultimately failed, in consequence of what had been done in the meantime in the Lebanon. I succeeded, however, in respect to the withdrawal of the Russian army from the provinces of the Danube, and also in reference to the financial restoration; which, coming into general operation after an experimental essay in Europe and in Asia, increased the direct taxes 30 per cent. in the course of the year 1852. All this was of course broken down subsequently. The Russian troops came back into the principalities: in the simulated war, the Turkish finances were ruined, and a foreign debt imposed.—*Note appended in* 1860.

but all the powers of Europe when they menace it as a foe, but has not the courage to say, "That is my affair not yours," to a foreign agent who assumes to speak to it as a friend. It is breath that does it. The frame of a Hercules will wither under mephytic vapour. Turkish officials and administrators have been recently subjected to the same process, through the talk of European saloons.

But how shall I render my own sensations at finding myself here at the present moment? I had not the slightest suspicion of what was going on. A fit of ague seizing me on horseback on my road to Damascus, kept me at Beyrout; confining me to my bed, it imposed upon me a period of convalescence, brought me for recruitment to Shimlan, thence, taking a little exercise, to Ibtedeen; where, recognizing in a new garb the face of an old and a dear friend, I suddenly found myself in his embrace. This was the Commissioner of the Porte, and I was in the midst of the Messaa. Had I not arrived at that moment the operation would have fallen stillborn. A chain of similar so-called accidents had already brought me, at the critical moment for each, in contact with the regenerating efforts of the Empire since 1834; and it was now by means of the incidents of those former transactions that I was successful in overcoming the sensations of hopelessness and despair, and inspiring courage and resolution into those, to whose charge the enterprise had been committed. I was further enabled to give that aid,

as on former occasions, which my position as a stranger put within my reach. For, if a stranger in Turkey can do, being hostilely disposed, so much more injury than in any other country; it is clear that one differently minded can effect much in the opposite sense.

The investigating party has returned in high spirits. The peasant was found, the land examined; he was in possession of documents in perfect order. On which Emin Effendi displaced the secretary, and told him that it was only in consideration of this being the first offence that had been committed, that he did not send him to the gallies. The other person compromised made his escape, to Saïd Bey! At the close of the investigation the village, which had assembled, burst out in cries of "Long live the Sultan."

There is not a village in which Saïd Bey has not some property, however worthless, and scarcely a peasant a portion of whose land he has not entered on. His is a remarkable system, aiming at complete domination as to authority, and possession as to property. It explains how the property of his father was acquired. They have a curious method of distributing the property in parts. The whole is considered one Dirhem, which is divided into 24 carats. Thus a man does not till an acre of land, but 5 or 6 carats, which may mean only a fraction of the one carat, held by a larger proprietor. In the same manner the whole Mountain is considered as a unit,

which is divided into 24 parts, which are the 24 mucatas.

In the course of the evening a certificate came from a neighbouring village, with the seals of the principal inhabitants, declaring that they had shewn field by field their possessions, and declared man by man their people from seventeen to sixty to the Buluck, that they had seen their evaluation, and that it was correct, that they bound themselves for its truth, and were ready to incur any penalty if proved false.

Soon afterwards a troop of Metuali came up, reclaiming the Messaa for their district. They all spoke together, crying at the top of their voices, but were very submissive when it was signified to them that this was not the manner in which business could be done, and withdrew well satisfied, when told that if they appointed one of their number to make known their prayer it would be attended to.

Emin Effendi took occasion of the attroupement which the incident had brought, to address a few words on the event of the morning to the Vakil of Saïd Bey, a portly and pompous personage held in great respect or fear by the villagers. He told him that it was very unfortunate that the name of Saïd Bey should have been brought up in respect to so trifling an affair; that if he had dealt with the matter as at first he intended, and sent it before the tribunal of the Pashalic, his master might have been greatly injured; but he was sure he had been imposed upon

by his agents, or that his agents had acted without his authority. But he begged him to take notice that it was the Bey who was really responsible for his agents, and if anything of the like occurred again he should not pass it over so lightly. A murmur of applause having followed these words, he turned round to the people and told them, that it was the misfortune of great men to be exposed to misrepresentations as well as to be deceived by servants; that for his part he looked neither to a man because he was rich or poor, and cared as little for the favour of the one as the frown of the other, and then narrated to them an incident which had occurred to himself at Beyrout. He had purchased with his own money a piece of ground for a school, which was in process of erection, when he learnt that he was accused of having robbed a man of his property, and of turning it to his own account. He immediately caused the building to be stopped, and required the person in question to prefer his claims before the council, from which being president he absented himself. So, he added, Saïd Bey may have been unjustly accused, and in like manner ready as soon as he learns the facts to clear himself. The Vakil came forward, and in token of gratitude kissed the hem of his garment. I cannot express sufficiently my admiration of the manner in which he has dealt with this affair, giving a lesson to the people on the one hand and to the chief on the other, and while dealing a blow to the latter, not driving to extremity a man who, even

under the penalty of the Porte's displeasure, is able to disturb in a great measure the work in progress.

Many of the Reports have now come in; the property of this miserable hamlet amounts to nearly £30,000!

CHAPTER IV.

A TURKISH OFFICER ON WAR.

December 4th.—I started this morning for Saïda, in company with an officer of Emin Pasha of Damascus. He was a burly personage, with a red full-moon face, speckled to match; a nose indistinct as to form, but notable as to colour, and small twinkling pig eyes. His body revealed its dimensions, at least, beneath the new military paletôt, which, but for its dye, would make the officer tribe appear as hayricks on castors. The off-hand style of the warrior amused our Constantinopolitan party, although they did not know, as I did, that they had before them the original of Major Dalgetty. This morning at sunrise he was sent for to come and take coffee with us before starting; he returned for answer that he had *breakfasted* an hour before, and was waiting. He presently appeared on his charger, attended by a pursuivant mounted on a strong animal, carrying in addition demensurate saddle-bags, evidences of his provident mind. Observing some geological specimens which I had thrown away, he gathered up a few, saying he would give them to Emin Pasha. Scarcely had we started when he began to expatiate on the oppressions of the peasantry and

the villany of the Sheiks; knew everything about the Messaa; was learned in dirhems and carats; pointed out the defects of the plan, and how they were to be remedied. I had with my own ears heard him extract his whole rubbish in about two minutes from the administrative groom of Emin Effendi; yet it was not bad rubbish in its way. He soon discovered that Newcastle was not his market for coals, and passed to military matters. I found myself riding beside one of the few who had escaped from the destruction of Mustafa Pasha's army on the shores of the gulf of Lepanto. He described the scene, which I knew well, having seen there the white bones of the Turks. He said the Greeks did not destroy Mustafa Pasha. Had his army been what any army ought to be, he would have marched through every corner of the Morea, except Maïna, in three months, and subjugated it without a contest; Maïna might have been left, as heretofore, to its Bey. The Turkish troops had then become dangerous only to themselves. He had served afterwards with Reschid Mehemet Pasha in Greece, Albania, Curdistan, and Syria, and he had a few characteristic words to say of each campaign.

Suddenly stopping, he asked me what news there was of the Majar Madessi, meaning the Hungarian refugees. I answered that it was settled; on which he reined up his charger, and, winking one eye, said, "I knew that." You learned it then at Damascus? "Oh no, I knew from the commencement

that it was all bosh;" but I said, did not the Austrian and Russian Governments demand the refugees, did not the Sultan refuse them? Could these Powers withdraw, or the Sultan yield? Did not the Ambassadors threaten to leave, &c.? "Oh yes, but it was all bosh." How is that? "I will tell you—but here is a fountain which has been much commended to me; I am not thirsty, but may be, when no such water is to be found;" and so he leapt to the ground, received a large flat silver bowl which his servant carried in a leather case strung over his shoulder, and, after drinking a copious draught, brought me one, urging me to drink on his grounds, as if I had been a camel. Divested now of his outer mantle, and in his military surtout with cartouch-box on its breast, despatch satchel, and sabre strapped crossways over the shoulders, with Frank boots coming up to the knee, and an oriental richness mixing with the occidental forms, he brought to my mind the red-cross knights, many of whom had dismounted on the same spot and satisfied, or like him anticipated, their thirst at the same fountain.

We had taken a peasant for a guide through the pass, and were here to dismiss him. So my companion made a complex sign, which to me was intended to signify, "the gentleman calls you," and to him, "my secretary will pay you." The man came to me for his bakshish, and then returned to the knight to kiss hands. He covered the operation by

the aside—"Sad devils these Metuali; they are *our* Roman Catholics."

We had now to descend a steep gorge of piled fragments of rock matted with prickly oak. Our horses' bridles were thrown to the servants, and we leisurely commenced our descent on foot, an operation to which my companion seemed as little used as suited. His breath was not, however, affected, so he commenced his promised reply, and part of it was shouted at the distance of twenty yards, when we chanced to be separated so far. I shall try to give it as nearly as possible in his own words.

"War was what was meant when they talked of the *Majar Madessi*. War is not the business of the Kiatibs (diplomatists), but of soldiers. So then I knew more about it than all the Kiatibs of Constantinople and London. I knew it was all bosh, because the Muscovites are not fools; they reckon hundreds of thousands as we count tens, but they are very weak; and they are so because their soldiers are treated worse than dogs: if you did give wages to a dog would they only be two piastres (4*d*.) a-year?" Here I ventured an observation to the effect that the Russian troops had above 5*s*. a-year, and when across the frontier, 15*s*. He resumed, "Don't speak! I know what I know—I speak their language. How often when on picket service, have the Muscovites come over to ask us how much we had a month, and what we had to eat; and when they heard, they who never knew if wheaten

bread was sweet or bitter, would not believe us till we shewed them the money in our pockets and gave them our bread to taste; and then they would say, Oh, if we too had a Sultan! When they were taken prisoners, ah, we wanted no guards over them, the pilaff and the chorba were their guards! Now, I will tell you what the Muscovites have. Every three months they receive 7½ piastres, which makes 30 in the year; of this 3½ is retained for the hospital and 3½ for the priest, so that there remains exactly 20 paras (1*d*) per three months to spend, which comes to 2 piastres in the year. They get to eat (besides blows) black bread of rye, which would kill a Turk in a week; twice a week they have a handful of corn just as might be served out to an ass. Of course when these men heard that ours had 20 piastres a month, which makes 240 in the year instead of 2, with not a para kept back, and that we had soup and meat and pilaff every day, they wished they had been born elsewhere and not in Muscovy. I dont blame them. But that makes a great difference, when we come to speak of war; for how shall the Muscovite Czar make war with us till he pays and feeds his men better?"

Here I again ventured to interfere, and alluded to such events having occurred, and being followed by certain others. But I was silenced by shouts and violent gesticulations: he turned, being before, marched up to me, and squatted down. I feared a blood-vessel had burst, but soon perceived that his

health was unimpaired; so sitting down opposite to him, I addressed myself to listen.

"You send 12 tambours (regiments) against 150. Do you call that war? What war can 12 tambours make against 150? I was there (referring to 1828) and we were 12 tambours, and the Russians had 150; but we did not run away. We said, "we are sold," but we did not run away. And what were these 12 tambours? Were they like those we have now? And what were our officers? Were they like those we have now? Don't call that a war! *Now* it would be a war. Let the Muscovites come with their 150 tambours, we should have 200; and then where would the war be? Ah! let them come. But they are not fools; they won't come, and that is why I said it was all bosh, about the Majar Madessi."

I then asked if that was the general opinion of the army. He answered, "No, they all thought we were to have war, when those on leave of absence were recalled." I asked if they agreed with him as to the chances of a struggle. He answered "Kulli, kulli," all, all; but then added—"if we were well commanded." Then you do apprehend that the superior officers are not equal to the task. "No, I do not say that, but as in a game of chess, the men must be properly played. We have no officers who have commanded armies in your regular warfare. What I know is, that our troops are better than the Russians, and the Russians would rather serve our Sultan than their Czar."

I did not leave my companion, which I did as soon as we reached more level ground, without letting him know that my questions and objections had not been prompted by scepticism, but on the contrary to assure myself that he had real grounds for what he said. The very appearance of the man changed, and from coarse and bluff, became earnest and almost gentlemanlike, as I proceeded to tell him, that before Turkey had an army I had been as satisfied of her power of recovery as of my own existence; and then dilated on the peculiar soldier character of the Turks, from their sobriety, cleanliness, sense of self-respect, familiarity with the use of arms, absence of speculative notions, freedom from intolerance, observance of their religion, and capability of unrepining endurance. He was perfectly amazed when I told him that the Turkish soldier was better paid than the English soldier, and that the Turkish army was able to bring into the field a larger amount of men than Russia and Austria united could bring to bear on any point where a contest could take place between them. He pulled out his tablets to take down, that he might read them to his comrades, some expressions I used. One was, "The Turks now will beat the Russians whenever they meet them in fair fights, the latter not exceeding double the former."

Whilst I resided at Ibtedeen, I was in the habit of paying visits to the common soldiers. Whenever I entered a barrack-room they stood up, and

arranged themselves, so that the apartment assumed the air of the reception hall of a Vizir. I was placed in the corner, and they all stood in a row, whilst the service of coffee was gone through. The pipes and coffee cups were indeed homely, but the style and dignity were there. This done, I invited them to be seated, and the divans round were then occupied as if by grandees. The conversation was the same, just as were the forms. Well might Napoleon say, that with such men he could conquer the world. The danger in the new organization was that the empire would become too military. This has been obviated by rendering the different *Ordûs* (hordes), or divisions—camps; not armies; fixing each to its province, preserving in the different corps the geographic order of the district from which it is recruited, so that each corporal's guard is supplied from its own village. Thus is the army like a tree planted in the ground; whilst by its shadow protecting the land, it holds in each fibre of its roots to its own soil. It is thus constituted an army for defence, not for oppression. The liberties of Europe have been shipwrecked on the non-solution of this equation.

NOTE ON THE TURKISH ARMY, APPENDED 1860.

AT the time of this conversation I was not of course aware of the opinion of General Aupic (then French ambassador at Constantinople), nor of that of General Bem, who has expressed himself in terms almost identical. Nor

had the positive evidence been furnished by the events of the war of 1853. I may now recall, that *before* the opening of that campaign I had made this announcement: "The Turks will beat the Russians whenever they have an opportunity of meeting them." I added, three months later, "Whenever the Allies appear on the field with the Turks—*the Turks will be beaten.*" I conceive it to be important to recall these prejudgments, because it is the habit to-day to take for reality the appearances that are presented; or rather to take the words that are printed in lieu of the events that occur. In proof of the authenticity of the above, and of the words not having been whispered in a corner, I subjoin extracts from the *Times.*

Before Turkey had declared war against Russia.

"We must oppose the aggrandisement of Russia, and so long as this is the only alternative, we must maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire; but of this we may be sure—that while *a tumbledown Turkish Empire lies at the feet of a powerful military monarchy,* and our only method of curbing the latter is by 'maintaining' the former, we shall never enjoy much respite from troubles like the present."—*Times, Sep.* 28, 1853.

After the Turkish Victory at Oltenitza.

"We cannot pretend to be of opinion that the conditions of past times are reversed, and that the military ascendancy of the Czar has now been transferred to the Sultan. *We fully anticipate that the Ottomans will be ultimately discomfited,* but if the contrary should prove true, more will be gained for the peace of Europe, than if the Vienna Note had been accepted by all parties, on the day when it first appeared. *If the Russian Empire, so far from threatening the balance of power, and the liberties of*

more civilised States—so far from menacing the Turkish Empire with absorption in its own—is actually unable to cope with Omar Pacha in the Danubian Principalities, the most difficult and alarming question of modern State politics will have been resolved at once. Mr. URQUHART *may then claim such triumph for political foresight, as never before fell to the lot of man; but such will be the general satisfaction of Europe at the result, that nobody, we think we may promise him, will be at all likely to repine at his exclusive credit."—Times, Nov.* 11, 1853.

After the Russian discomfiture before Silistria.

"Swift and terrible has been the retribution which has fallen on the Russian army engaged in this shameful and unprovoked aggression, and the chastisement is rendered the more humiliating to the pride of the Czar, and the more important to the political independence of the Porte, by the fact that *a division* of the Turkish army, *unassisted by European troops*, has sufficed to repel the invader, with unexampled losses. These glorious results belong to the Turkish arms *exclusively*, and the soldiers of the Sultan never fought with more devoted and successful bravery than on this occasion."—*Times, June* 22, 1854.

The prediction here referred to was no symptom of courage, for the case presented no shade of ambiguity. Had the Turks not been able to defend themselves, they would have been left to themselves. The Allies went, as Lord Ponsonby puts it, "to defend *not* Turkey but Russia." I had besides the judgment of Russia herself to assist me. In the despatch of Pozzo di Borgo, of Nov. 1828, the conviction of the Russian Cabinet is distinctly stated:—

"The experience we have just made must now reunite all opinions in favour of the resolution which has been adopted, (*i. e.* to make war against the Porte,) the Emperor

has put the Turkish system to the proof, and his Majesty has found it to possess a commencement of physical and moral organization which it hitherto had not.

"If the Sultan has been enabled to offer us a determined and regular resistance, whilst he had scarcely assembled together the elements of his new plan of reform and ameliorations, how formidable should we have found him, had he had time to give it more solidity, and *to render that barrier impenetrable which we find so much difficulty in surmounting, although art has hitherto done so little to assist nature.*

"We must congratulate ourselves upon having attacked them *before they became more dangerous for us,* for delay would only have rendered our *situation worse.*"

And again:—

"After the campaign has afforded it (the Russian Cabinet) a more correct estimate of the real state of things, and has convinced it of the necessity of multiplying precautions, in order TO DIMINISH THE DANGERS OF THE FUTURE."—*Portfolio,* vol. i. pp. 348-351.

The military success of Russia in 1829, and the diplomatic success of the Treaty of Adrianople in the same year, did not "diminish" for Russia "the dangers of the future," however it may have disguised them from Europe. I, at least, was under no such delusion. In a letter written the morning after the fête on board "the Blonde" to commemorate the peace, I stated, with a simplicity of conviction which on now finding it after an interval of so many years, fills me with amazement, that the blow which had fallen, not having crushed the Empire, would renovate it. But I did not content myself with the reflection; the perception opened to me a career; I resolved to work for that end; to make it my business to break Russia by the renovation of Turkey, just as others make it their

business to build a house or to train a horse. A man may make, as well as choose, a profession for himself. And if this was the business of a Government, and Governments shrunk from it, it remained to be undertaken by a man. After all it was an operation contingent on thought, and not on armies. In the operation itself there was no difficulty whatever; the obstruction arose solely from being interfered with by those in whose behalf I was engaged.

From that hour the military, administrative, and financial organization advanced. Checked, endangered, retarded, it is true, and filling those who had the work at heart always with disquietude, often with dismay,* but furnishing in these very feelings, sources of perseverance and elements of success. At last the achievement was sealed under the walls of Silistria, and the security of the Empire placed beyond all possibility of attack by foe, or cavil by friend.

What happened thereafter, matters not. If Turkey were to be shivered to pieces to-morrow, that cannot prevent this reconstruction from having been foreseen and effected. It was one thing that the military power of Turkey should be restored as against the arms of Russia; it is another that that restoration should hold against the friendship of England. Let Turkey now fall when she may, and as she well deserves, and the words of Mr. Sydney Herbert will still remain my justification—"We (the English and French Governments) were agreed with or enemy, but not with our ally."

* In one of these moments, so far back as 1836, Lord Ponsonby concludes a letter to me in these words—*But we live!*

CHAPTER V.

THE METROPOLIS OF PHŒNICIA.

THE valley or gorge which we had descended gave us a distant glimpse of the sea; when we got to the bottom we came upon an ancient road about six feet wide, chiselled through the rock, and just wide enough for a laden camel to pass; it was narrower below. The falling thus unexpectedly upon this track of the camels of Dedan, finding their way to the Phœnician outlets, or the Mediterranean, recalled me from present men and events, and brought before me the people, whose metropolis I was so soon to behold the remnants of, or at least the site.

We emerged from the chain of the Lebanon near the village of Giurgova, and then beheld spread before us, from Tyre on the left to the cape of Beyrout on the right, the Phœnician plains. The city of Sidon was hid, but the spot where it stood was pointed out. It is not however a plain, but the summits of the lower ranges, which appear; and they concealed, at least in the part before us, the level strip bordering the sea. After a descent of about an hour the country became less rugged, the hills were composed of masses of pale soil and calcareous earth, and a gentle canter of two hours brought me to Saïda.

The strip of land close to it loses the ashy aspect and loose nature of the rest of the country, and becomes black, greasy mould, such as in the richest parts of Hungary and Roumelia; gardens surround the town, but not so much on the south whence I was approaching; on that side it was marked by a mamelon crowned with a small castle. I did not enter by the gate, for having outstripped my companions, I turned to the north, where the gardens lay thick and luxuriant. The view of the city where I turned off is most lively and exhilarating. The wall with its turrets has been converted into houses, and fitted with windows; the ditch in front has been filled up and divided off into gardens. The road encircles these, and on the right of it is a wall which holds up the burying ground, but of which you have the command as you sit on horseback. It is shaded over and almost covered in by platani; the tombs are not the ordinary turbés of the Turks, but the very fac-simile of the tombs of Lycia, with which Englishmen are now familiar from the collection of them in the first room of the British Museum. The figure is that of the section of a boat turned upside down, and having a very deep keel. Groups of women in their white veils, were seated or sauntering. The scene was circumscribed, but smiling and eastern, I may even say tropical and primeval; the waving leaves of the banana and the Lycian forms, transported me to both simultaneously. The gardens to the north of the town are somewhat

in the style of Morocco; there is not the aloe, but there are the Barbary fig and the tall cane; and if inferior in luxuriance, the orange trees were there bent under their shining load. Some stray grapes were still hanging on the vines. The orange and the vine fill up the year, the fruit of each being ripe through every month in which that of the other is wanting. There was one plant of wonderful vegetation, the lentiscus; the stems were of the dimensions and the appearance of the gnarled oak, but the top was not in proportion. The branches seemed the growth of latter times, on trunks so ancient that the plants may have been set in the ground by the first colonists of Sidon.

Entering the town alone, I wandered through it till I perceived through a narrow lane leading down to the water, two or three tiers of gigantic blocks; this was a fragment of the wall which enclosed the port. I then traced the continuation of the mole, partly by a scarped reef, partly by masonry. Not being aware "that stone upon stone" did remain of Sidon, this was a surprise, and I promised myself no ordinary gratification in prowling around each nook and crevice.

I was directed to the "French Khan," where I was told I should find consuls, conack, and supper. This building is a large square, surrounded with porticoes, as in Spain. Though now dilapidated, still in the centre stand the fountain and reservoir, and around willows, acacias, bananas, and other trees.

I was shewn into one of its vaults spread with mats and boarded with quilts. I expected a "locanda," a miserable gouty place, with chairs and tables as at Beyrout, and was agreeably disappointed. Having the French Consul for a neighbour, I paid him a visit. His wife, a pretty person, a native, seated in a similar vault, received me. A window opened on the port, and the vault formed a remarkably sprightly apartment. The lady's costume was that of the country; through it predominated the pale straw colour of the silk gauze, and bright yellow of the tags and fringes of gold. The Syrian women wear the breast open, almost down to the girdle, though the dress comes up to the neck; and as much shocked as our ladies would be at the exposure of bosoms, so would they be at the exposure of shoulders. She was sitting on the divan suckling her child, while smoking her nargillé; she spoke French very well, and was her husband's Arabic secretary. Presently her husband came in, received me with the extremest kindness, and offered me the hospitality of his roof. Finding that I had come from the Lebanon, he inquired with much interest into the progress of the Messaa. I found him however already informed of every particular, even to the circumstances of yesterday. It was alarming to witness this facility of communication, and the hold of the foreign agents. He told me that it was with the French Consul at Beyrout that the project had originated five years before. Passing through Constantinople, he had

been consulted by Redschid Pasha. Mr. Buré (?) considering that the protection of France, which formerly had been exerted to shield the Maronite population from the vexation of the Druze chiefs, was now ineffectual, as they (the Maronites) had become the most powerful and the oppressing body, and also injurious, as England had undertaken the counter protection of the Druzes, suggested an opposite course. He proposed two measures. The one an evaluation of the lands which should put an end to extortion, and the other the banishment of the most powerful Sheiks, whom there was no means of keeping within bounds. He designated eight; of these the principal was Saïd Bey. The English Consul, backed by the Russian, declared against the first measure, and in favour of the second; only he insisted on excepting Saïd Bey. As the expulsion of the seven would only have the effect of leaving the eighth without any check whatever, the proposal was abandoned.

It was, therefore, with the partiality of a partizan that he observed and exulted in the progress that had been made. He said, "They have found the man, and he has used his occasion. He has begun where the people were the most oppressed, and, after dealing with the most to be apprehended of the Sheiks, he will have easy work with the others." He then told me that his predecessor in the office he held at Beyrout had by extortion amassed an immense fortune. The Porte having intelligence

of his proceedings had him arrested. He had then offered to Emin Effendi a large sum of money. He had laid the letter before the Divan. This incident brought to my mind an expression of Izzet Pasha when at Muchtara, we were walking in the woods; he broke a long silence with these words, "In the time of my father and grandfather the presence here of the commander of the district would have cost Saïd Bey a good sum of money and a vast amount of provisions: at present it costs him nothing in money, I have but two servants to feed, and it is I who make presents to his people." He, like the French vice-consul, was thinking on the change that was taking place in the character of this nation: in such a case to begin is to have half succeeded.

Physicians being a class combining more than any other the elements out of which are formed observant and conversable men, it is often an advantage to be taken ill, as offering the chance of forming an agreeable or profitable acquaintance. This happened to me here. The physician called in was a Frenchman, formerly in the service of Ibrahim Pasha, and who had known Syria under both administrations. The vice-consul also improved upon acquaintance; and I had the further advantage of visits, during my confinement to the house, from Turks, Arabs and others, who all brought me profit and amusement. I was able the second day to get so far as the island rock and reef, which, lying off

the coast at this point, have rendered it capable of being made a naval station. I gave up two days to these reefs, and spent them there alone.

It was one day passed on the border of the Atlantic, at Shemish, overlooking the site of the Hesperides, and within sound of the roar of the real dragon that still guards the entrance,* that decided me on visiting, at my first moment of leisure, the parent city. It was also to the exploration of her far colonies in the west, that I owe much of the enjoyment I now experienced from sitting and musing among the ruins (if ruins they can be called) of Sidon herself; which, if not the metropolis, is certainly the earliest of the offshoots planted on the Mediterranean. So it became a fresh starting point for others. Under the name (never heard by the people itself) of Phœnicia is disguised that wonderful union of power and simplicity to which essentially the epithet BARBARIC belonged. "Barbaric letters," "barbaric pomp," "barbaric gold," meant Phœnician in each case. And what we have received from Greece and Rome, these received from the Barbarians; a name which we so revere in our heart's core that every people dissimilar to ourselves we honour by that epithet.

The polite letters and useful arts, which passing through generation and generation, and spreading from tribe to tribe, have embellished time in all its stages, aided man in all his enterprises, fed and

* See description in Pillars of Hercules, vol. ii.

clothed, enriched and polished him, sailed forth from this haven, and were distributed by those who chose for themselves this site. In all our greatness, in all we know, we are ourselves their monument.

The side of the hill to the north of the town, and overlooking the gardens, is pierced with tombs. I heard of one that had recently been laid bare by a fall of earth, in which there were paintings and an inscription in an unknown character. I was consequently all anxiety to see it, and got on horseback when little able to support the fatigue. I met only with disappointment. It was a small cavern worked out into side-tombs, of which there may be a dozen, and painted in the style of a modern Greek coffee-room, dabs of paint, festoons, trees, and birds on them.

From the mouth of the tomb there is a charming prospect of Saïda, stretching from the fort-crowned mound to the south, that shields it landward, to the embattled rock in the water, which commands the port on the north, and is joined to the town by a bridge. The port lies between this bridge and a reef which runs out from below the land fort. About a mile to the north of the mole is another reef, affording protection against the only wind and sea here to be apprehended—the westerly. Nowhere along the coast had I seen combined, circumstances so favourable for such a people as the Phœnicians; giving a footing ashore, so to say, for

their ships, and a station afloat, in case of necessity, for their goods and people. In addition to this was the rich land and abundant water of the vicinity for gardens; the forests of Lebanon, close by, for timber, and its cedars for their enormous masts;* while, last, not least, a climate such, that their December days surpassed the finest we could select from our July.

This supposes, not a people living on the coast that went to sea, but a sea-faring people who, coming from afar, looked out for a convenient station.

The port now, by the rising of the sand, affords entrance only to craft drawing from four to five feet. The present town stands partly on what must formerly have been the port. There were three entrances; one is still perfect, and is like that of a dock, through which a vessel of 500 tons could pass. The reef, which forms the wall seaward, has been joined to the land by a breakwater at right angles. The reef, where it lowers, is built upon by a wall ten feet thick, composed of stones, some of which must weigh 50 tons. They are limestone, but not of that which is found in the neighbourhood. Three tiers still stand on the north-west angle. This wall was for defence, as appears from the height and from the double gateway cut in the rock; the grooves of the portcullis, and the mortices for the bar which secured the door within are

* See Lucian's description of them.

still perfect. The rock without has been cut level into a broad landing place. In some places mortar filled with pottery is largely used, and is more durable than most of the stones its binds; a large fragment of it is built as a stone into the doorway of the modern city. These stones and walls must have been shaken and displaced by the earthquakes to which Syria has been so often subject.

The reef to the north is distant about 500 yards, running for half a mile parallel to the coast; there is still close under it four fathoms. A jetty composed of blocks, like those I have described, runs out from the southern extremity, leaving but a narrow passage. The reef has not been used only to protect an anchorage; it also served for a port. The whole of it has been cut smooth, leaving only the rock standing on the edge, like a pie-crust. The stone has been grooved, and many of the blocks still remain cut all round, as if the works had been interrupted; this is, however, only towards the extremity. There has evidently been the double object of getting the stone, and levelling the island. The level part has been occupied by wood buildings, as shewn by the mortice holes. The ridge of rock left standing is 12 feet thick and 15 high; a doorway is left through it, with the fittings as in those of the harbour. There are many things that I could not comprehend; for instance, a cross in relief on a detached rock, not carved on the side, but the surface.

The historical value of this topographic scrutiny must chiefly consist in the limits which it must assign to the shipping of Sidon. We have to deal not with triremes, but with the ships of long course and heavy burden; the coast still retains its original configuration sufficiently to determine the space allotted for their reception. Had the sand risen as at Beyrout, no trace of Saïda would be found to-day. But here the sweeping of the shore by the continuous current from the south prevents the accumulation from rising so high as to allow the sand to be carried inwards by the westerly gales. It would not, therefore, be difficult to fix exactly the extent of docks and wharfage. Pushing these to the utmost limits, the shipping of Sidon could not have exceeded that of Gloucester.

Their ships, however, were not laden with timber or tar, corn or calicoes, sugar, guano, rum or tea; the return was not ten or twenty per cent. Their cargoes were spices, ivory, gold, silver, gems, and the sand of their coast converted into gem.* The returns, who shall estimate?

If we had no writings of past times those remains would tell the story of the Phœnicians; a people different from all those which occupy history, possessing in the highest degree the mechanical arts, conceiving and constructing in the boldest manner, working for future eras, and directing their labour for the protection of maritime enterprise. Having

* The Turkish word for glass is *jami*.

much that we now possess, and much that we no longer comprehend: separated from us by the gulf of time, linked to us by the chain of science; not stretching out their hand to take, like Assyria and Rome, not fencing themselves round to keep, as China and Egypt. Great they were, and therefore to be rated amongst other greatness. Yet they had neither numbers nor territory, neither armies nor system; they had only cunning and craft—not the cunning that overreaches, nor the craft that undermines. They had the cunning to avoid offence and the craft to make their way. No wonder that Lamartine, the type of the modern traveller as far as his notions go, turns with loathing and disgust from everything Phœnician, there being no roguery to gratify his morals and no violence to satisfy his philanthropy. Returning from this reef I said to myself, had the Phœnicians not existed they would have to be invented.

(Some pages are here wanting. The Diary resumes with the closing portion of a conversation on a projected plan for clearing the ports of Tyre and Sidon, and carrying thence a railway to Damascus. Who my informant was I have forgotten.)

". . . . The chains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon appear inseparable barriers; but it was intended to carry it (the railway) round by Tyre, and so open into the Bkkaa; then turn the Anti-Lebanon at El Bayat, and thus bring the whole line nearly on the same level to Damascus. However painful to see such an operation frustrated, I

cannot but justify the Porte in discontinuing all enterprises, however beneficial to the country, that bring European residents, or afford ground of interference to the consuls or the embassies."

His words confirmed what was said to me by an English merchant at Beyrout—"All we desire is to be left alone and to manage our concerns with the Turks; their suspicions present the only difficulty, and these suspicions spring solely from the meddling of our Government."

I inquired what the concessions were which this company had asked. He said, not being at Saïda at the time, he did not know; but imagined it must have been a reduction in their favour of the duties to the standard at which they were before the English Treaty. Fancying that what he said implied a censure on me, he added that no doubt that Treaty had been well adapted to, and had benefited other parts of the Ottoman dominions, but that it was unfortunate for Syria that I had not visited it before that Treaty was settled. I explained that the parts of the Treaty he referred to had been quite as injurious to the other parts of Turkey as to Syria; and that but for it Turkey would now be the granary of Europe, and Syria covered with silk manufactories, which would have doubled by this time both the quantity she produced and its value. He looked astonished, and said he understood that I was the author of the Treaty. I told him that I was of the Treaty that had *not* been signed.

Children playing in the corridor of the khan round my door, native in every feature, and in clothing humble if not poor, were speaking French! They were at the French school. It is very strange to meet here and there young Arabs familiarly addressing you in French or English. There are schools provided for them without cost, in which they are not only instructed but fed and lodged! What benevolence on the one side and what good fortune on the other!

It is only proselytism. I often wished to have an extract from the 23rd chapter of Matthew, printed in large type to paste up on the walls and doors.* Yet what would it avail. I however find so great a difference in these Roman Catholics, that I could converse with them on the subject; with the Protestant missionaries I could not; for this reason, that the funds which support them are supplied for proselytism, and that they have sufferance in the country only on the condition of not attempting to proselytise. With the Roman Catholics it is different; the funds are not collected at meetings, no statements have to be made in periodicals or on platforms; the Missionaries are under superiors and are at once subject to discipline and liable to punishment: there is therefore nothing in their general

* "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves."—Matt. xxiii. 15.

position which may not be discussed without offence. Besides, if not the practice, at least it is the maxim of the Church of Rome, "to satisfy doubts but not to raise them."

These matters were freely discussed on my visit to the school. A Priest was somewhat startled when I mentioned the prohibition of Proselytism by his Church, while he had passed over with suave indifference my reference to the precepts of Christ. There was indeed no offence taken, as would have been the case with a Protestant. It was rather relief he experienced, at the (to him) new thought, that proselytism was not a Christian duty. The only word put in, in denegation was, that "as the Mussulmans propagated their faith by the sword, the Christian might use the weapon of persuasion." This led to an exposure of the falsehood of that assertion and its impossibility. They listened with astonishment to the passages from the Koran establishing directly the reverse. I then appealed to their own experience as to the toleration of the Turks, and asked them what Syria would be under any Christian Government.

After an examination of the school, and an exhibition of the proficiency of the pupils in French (of which I had had already sufficient evidence), in arithmetic, geography and history, the latter being rather comical, the small caterva was dismissed, and we continued in discourse. The master was an agreeable and not an uninstructed man; he was full

of zeal, enthusiastic in his profession, and proud of the "great advantages," which Syria was deriving and had derived from these schools. At length I asked leave to put two questions, which being granted, I put as follows:

1. Are your young men better sons than the rest?
2. Are they more loyal subjects?

On this a silence of minutes ensued. The master had opened his mouth, but no sound proceeded. Finding that I did not intend to say more, and that I awaited an answer, he at last turned on the vice-consul an appealing glance, from whom at last broke the words:

"How true is what you say." I remarked that I had said nothing, and was only seeking for information from them. "You have said every thing," he replied, "and you have said nothing that has not already been in our minds." Then, turning to the master, he continued, "How often have we deplored the same thing? Have we not considered it a fatality that young man after young man has disappointed our expectations?" He then went on to enumerate cases, and as the review proceeded these cases, considered each at the time as exceptions, proved to be the rule without exception.

Not one of the pupils remained a son to his parents, had taken to the calling of his father, or even to an honest calling; they had all become agents to consuls, *courtiers*, or dragomen. It was a wholly new thought to those I was addressing, that of domestic duty and

political allegiance. I shewed them that as Roman Catholics, those duties were peculiarly imposed on them by injunction, and that they set at nought the spiritual authority of their church, when plotting to subvert the laws of the country which afforded them so large a hospitality, and permitted them to exercise such influence among its subjects. The circle of listeners having been enlarged, I was begged to enter fully on a matter which touched them all so nearly: I did so, and dwelt on the consequences to themselves if England and France should be called upon their soil in struggle of arms, as now they were in competition of influence; or if the Turkish Government at last gave up the land to flame and the sword. I had the satisfaction of hearing them express thankfulness. They assured me that henceforward my warning should influence the course pursued in the school at Saïda. I had the opportunity of shewing them in the person of one of the young men, whom they had instanced as having been rendered unfit for his station in life, the extreme facility of bringing them back to that state, and also that the knowledge of usages must first be possessed by the instructor. I fear, in the want of the latter, that their good intentions will serve little. A drop in the ocean is little as to quantity, what then is a drop in the Niagara, as to direction? The conversation remarkably illustrates the deteriorating effects of European influence, even when exerted under the most favourable circumstances, and for the most benevolent ends.

I engaged as a servant one of those young men. I met him at dinner at the Consul's table. They expected him to sit at mine, and were amazed to see him fall back at once into his own station of life, on a look and without a word.

I must not omit to make honourable mention of a bath at Saïda. There are five of them in the town; the one I mean is called Yeni Hammam. In abundance of linen, industry of shampooing, sedulousness of service, variety of rooms, graduation of temperature, and degree of heat (which is often wanting) I have met nothing like it in my present trip. It has not the Alhambra-like splendour of those of Emir Beshir; but it is a temperately ornate and more finished work. In this sense, no bath, even at Constantinople, equals it; the habit of employing old blocks of marble, capitals of columns, and the like, has given an irregularity to Turkish baths even where the materials are gorgeous. Here there was no piece of stone or marble not specially carved for it. The colours were white, black, and yellow; the white was marble, the black the lignite of the Lebanon, the yellow the limestone of the Lebanon, which when wet equals in beauty marble of the richest colour. The design varies in each chamber. On returning after bathing, to the kiosk prepared for me, whilst the path was strewn with the clean napkins, handfuls of ambar were simultaneously cast, so as to fall with each napkin, and on it, before my foot. The ambar is a small round, soft, yellow,

cottony flower with aromatic odour; the Spaniards are very fond of it.

There are in Saïda nearly 4000 houses, one half Mussulman, the other Christian and Jewish. The Christians go little to the bath; if they do, it is on a marriage or at Easter, so preserving at least the tradition of its ancient use. There remains, therefore, five baths for 2000 families. The young Maronite I engaged here had only been once in his life in a bath.

CHAPTER VI.

A CHAPTER ON IMMORAL AND IRRELIGIOUS DUTIES.

THE distance from Saïda to Sur (Tyre) is seven and a half hours, so starting at noon I expected to reach by sunset. Intending to visit, as I left the town, the English consular agent, I sent to say so. He was absent at Beyrout, but I found his brothers, a numerous fraternity, and some neighbours assembled. They opened a vast subject, and were so earnest that they kept me till three o'clock. The assemblage had been specially convened, as soon as they learnt my intended visit, and as the subject underwent a more thorough investigation than it ever had before, I shall report with careful accuracy.

The oldest of the brothers opened the matter by stating, that they were much injured by the Commercial Treaty with England; that they had been year after year expecting a change. They had over and over again represented their grievances as follows:—"The Treaty increases the customs for English merchants from 3 to 12 per cent; this rate, introduced for the foreign trade, is applied to the internal trade. Out of this have grown up monopolies which were unknown in Syria, which had been

abolished in Turkey by the Hatti sheriff of Gulhané. The apaltatori, or farmers of revenue, have now recourse to all sorts of vexations to harass the general trade, having become traders themselves."

I requested to be informed of the specific difference under the Treaty, as to each article exported from Saïda. The answers were as follow:—

Tobacco. This is the principal export. It varies from the low price of eight paras the oke, (7½ lbs. for one penny) to five piastres. The utmost production is 14,000 cantars of 2 cwt. each. It goes principally to Egypt, in bales composed of all qualities, the outer leaf being of the lowest kind; and in the centre a little of the best; the aggregate value is under two piastres the oke. Formerly there was one charge of 14 paras for all kinds of tobacco, which, in the tobacco of Latakia, some of which sold for 30 and 50 piastres, was but a fractional duty. It fell, however, heavily on the Lebanon, amounting to 25 per cent on the lowest quality, seven per cent on the highest. They looked, therefore, under the new Treaty, to be relieved from this burden, as 12 per cent ad valorem duty would have been to them a reduction of more than two-thirds. However, instead of that, under the name of 12 per cent, the duty was raised from 14 paras to 76 paras. This amounted on the lowest quality to 1000 per cent, and on their whole exportation to 100 per cent. There being, at present, precisely the same sum paid for the tobacco and for the duty. The lower qualities would have

remained unsold, if the apaltatori had not bought the tobacco, and sent it themselves to Egypt. Besides the effect has been to open Egypt to foreign tobacco, the coarse qualities of which, paying only five per cent duty, are introduced from Greece, Barbary, and even America.

Silk. This article comes next in the Saïda market: it is the produce of the southern portion of the Mountain, amounts to from 10,000 to 15,000 okes, is of a coarse quality, and is dyed and wrought in Saïda. It is used for tassels to caps, and lace for embroidery. It is exported chiefly to Egypt, but is also sent to Constantinople, and other parts of Turkey. Before the treaty, silk paid on entering the towns 4 per cent, and on leaving it, dyed for exportation, 3 more. The silk raw, is worth about 100 piastres the oke; dyed red, 130; blue, 170; so that the manufactured article paid in all, in one case 3, in the others 1½ per cent. Under the Treaty it pays 12 per cent, which is charged on entering the town. When dyed, or manufactured, it is considered a new article, and pays 12 per cent more, which 12 per cent is calculated by the tariff at 42 piastres. The duty on the dyed silk is thus 54 piastres, instead of 7; so that on this article the difference produced by the treaty is 47 piastres.

Grain. On this article the effect of the treaty is to multiply the duty by 23. The former icktisab was 1 para for 8 okes, now the tariff is 23 paras for 8 okes. There were here no restrictions on its ex-

portation. (The duty was raised from one farthing to 6*d.*)

Soap. A mannfacture of Saïda. The oil formerly paid 4 paras the 30 okes. It now pays 15 piastres, or above one hundred-fold. The potass formerly paid on importation 3 per cent; it now pays 5. The soap on exportation formerly paid 3 per cent; it now pays 12. The difference between the old and the new duties is as 60 to 325, or more than five-fold on a cantar of soap exported. The value of the cantar is 4,600 piastres.

As they had referred, in speaking of former charges, to the regular one of 3 per cent, I inquired if more than that sum was not often paid. They answered that it was true, that more was often paid; but that a novel system of abuse has been introduced, that of the farmers becoming merchants themselves. Above all, that formerly, the Treaties were considered law; now, the Treaty was so confused and so contradictory, that everything was arbitrary, and there was no use in appealing to the Consuls.

I asked how it was that these articles, not one of which was exported to Europe or came to England, could be affected by our Treaty?

This question produced an exclamation of surprise. They answered, "The rate established for you is of course laid on us. Long ago, we should have been taxed in this way; but they could not tax us while your trade was free. You increase

the duties for yourselves; they are then increased for us. Though these articles do not go to England, they are often bought and sold by English merchants, and are so held to be foreign."

Having heard all they had to say, I inquired what they wished me to do. They said, "To understand that this Treaty is a contagion, destroying us. It is bad for you, for the Turks, and for us." I answered that I was already perfectly aware of all that. They said, "Then we want you to tell them in London." I said, "I have told them over and over again, and no one will listen to me." "But," remonstrated they, "the English are a clever people; cannot they see that this Treaty contradicts itself?" I answered, "If you see that the Treaty contradicts itself, how call them a clever people?" "But surely, Lord Palmerston is a clever man; can you not make him see it?" "Lord Palmerston being a clever man does not require me to make him see it." "But then he will change it." "He made it; why should he change it?" After some talk among themselves, one of them said, "You mean that Lord Palmerston is like our rejals (ministers) at Constantinople?" "No; for they have the name only." Again ensued a bye conversation, and one of them said, "But Russia is far from here." I replied, "You export grain, she exports grain; you are governed from Constantinople, she has an ambassador at Constantinople and a consul at Beyrout." They now fully appre-

hended; but again they would return to the English being a clever people. I laid my hand on the Treaty, the English copy of which had been brought, saying you have here the means of knowing them; they have no means of knowing themselves.

One of them stated, that being interested in salt, and the Government having monopolised it, he went to Colonel Rose to require the fulfilment of the Treaty, which prohibited the imposition of monopolies; on which Colonel Rose pointed out to him a passage in the third article which contradicted the first, and said that British trade should pay the same duties as the most favoured subjects. This I was asked to explain. They had no difficuly in understanding that explanation, viz. that the Treaty had been made for one purpose and altered for another. They then asked what other changes had been made. I said they themselves had hit upon the most important. The next was the raising the import duty two per cent. The third the imposing one duty of 12 per cent on all exports, whereas the original Treaty contemplated a scale of duties, and the tariff under it, was not to calculate in money one ad valorem duty on all, but to fix what ad valorem per centage each article could bear. Thus Valonia might have had a high duty, because so much cheaper in Turkey than in Europe; silk would probably have been reduced below the three per cent. The Treaty, intended to facilitate commerce and reduce duties, had been changed so as to increase duties and con-

vert them into prohibitions. They then asked me to mark on their copy the interpolated passages, which I did; also the Additional Articles as to nothing "but the fair sense being stipulated for," and that nothing should be construed as interfering with the "freedom of internal legislation" of the Ottoman Empire. As I was taking my departure, I was asked what I meant when I said that the Turks required no help to put it right. I answered that the Turkish Government had declared by the Hatti sheriff of Gulhané, that all monopolies and all impediments to trade were abolished, and could not afterwards take an equivalent for abolishing them. That the duties under the tariff did not bring money into the treasury, but kept money out of it. That the Turkish Government had the tenths in its hand; and need not go in a roundabout way to get taxes so as to ruin their own property, by imitating Governments who had lost the tithe. That their religion prohibited a higher duty than three per cent. That they fancied they imitated Europe, but in Europe no one taxed exports. That Turkey had no preventive system, and could not have one without adding a heavy charge to the expenses of the empire, which would absorb more than the whole returns from the customs. That the effect of the present duties was to clog commerce in regard to heavy goods, and as to the lighter, such as silk, tobacco, &c., to cause it to pass in a great measure in contraband. These were the reasons they had to urge with the Turks, to in-

duce them to drop the treaty, which they could not do till they understood it, but which was the easiest of all things when understood.

It was now three o'clock, but I was told there was a village half way where I could sleep, and as I had sent on my baggage horses with orders to wait half way, I started. We passed under an alley of the ambar tree which produces the small yellow flower; its leaves are like a fine acacia, the trunk unites the knots of the oak and the spring of the platanus; elsewhere they are but shrubs. The gardens on this side extend little, for water is wanting; the land, however, is equally rich, and a strip of this black loam runs between the beach and the chalky hills. It is a dead level, without a tree or a house. The people have their villages on the hills. As the water might be conducted from the hills, it is probable that this was formerly a continuation of gardens and country mansions, where rested the merchant princes from their labours, and tasted their luxuries. Nothing could be more happily chosen, if I am to judge from the scene and the day. Some clouds served as an awning in the heavens, and a breeze came in from the sea. There was heat enough to enjoy the breeze, light enough to make the cloud a pleasure, and cloud and breeze enough to make the sun acceptable.

In visiting the Upogea, or caverns, with which the rocks to the left are filled, I rode up a brow, and came in sight unexpectedly of Tyre, looking

like a projecting tongue of alluvial land covered with trees. Behind me was old grey Sidon, and before young green Tyre; I turned from the one to the other, and could with difficulty tear myself from the place; but the sun, though shrouded, approached the horizon, and warned me to press on. The clouds spread in dark masses to within a few degrees of the horizon, where they left a space which stretched in a straight line as if drawn by rule. Behind, the flood of ruddy light poured like an etherial water-fall; on the eastern side the beautiful phenomenon of the anhelion mimicked, in its party-coloured radiation, the rising sun; for a moment I was perplexed, as if I had been suddenly turned round, but then I was reassured by the large disc of the sun, which broke into the open space below the clouds, and suddenly lit them up where darkest, in fragments, patches, and lines, as a distant light might strike on a pannelled roof. How immense did that continent of sky now appear. This was a day to taste the sweetness of Phœnicia, and here was a sunset of mingled gloom and splendour, types of its past fortune and its present state, in which to behold for the first time "Tyrus of the sea."*

As I resumed my march the scene of the morning came back upon me. In detailing it I had in view accuracy; the subject being one of business, and business the most important. I may now say something of the feelings in me which it then awakened,

* Egyptian Papyrus.

and which came crowding upon me during my solitary march along the beach, amidst storm and darkness.

That human beings do become cynics and misanthropes may be as inconceivable to those who have not become so themselves, as that there should be assassins and poisoners. If incomprehensible, it is at all events indubitable, that there are such. To me it is no longer incomprehensible, because during this ride I have all but become so myself, the occasion being this very conversation.

These dozen men, assembled to pour out to me their distress and their lamentations, would, if I had told them that the Treaty was mine, and that it was all right, have held their tongues, bowed their heads, not have ventured to utter a word that was in their thoughts, and probably have told me that I was the benefactor and saviour of their native land. At best they would have suggested alterations, in order to *improve* the work. Could anything be more hateful than human nature thus exhibited?

Turn to the Turks. They are done to death by a piece of paper which they have signed; which does not even stipulate that they must cut their own throats, but only that they may do so; upon this they do cut their own throats.* With the exception of Mehemet Ali, under the direction of the old

* The duties fixed by a Commercial Treaty are intended only as the limit beyond which they shall not be raised; not a minimum below which they cannot be reduced.

astute Nubar, there is not a single Turk, from Reschid Pasha down to the street porter, who understands a single word of it. The functionary to whose department its interpretation, and therefore its comprehension, particularly belongs is the Grand Dragoman. That functionary fills here the office of Imperial Commissioner, and did so formerly in Wallachia and Moldavia, where the Treaty was so well understood that it would not be so much as listened to. Well, this Grand Dragoman I have been for the last month daily at work upon, and cannot drive into him the faintest idea of the matter. So that the same results are obtained by knowledge that is destitute of courage, and good intentions that are destitute of knowledge.*

Since these new charges, the Turks individually have abstained, as a matter of conscience, from bidding for the customs' farms. Taxes are a part of religion. They are bound to the payment of what is lawful (Hallal parasi), and forbidden to pay or to exact what is not. It is not lawful for them to exact more than 3 per cent customs' duty, nor lawful to exact so much from a stranger who does not impose countervailing duties. "The Mussulman," said Mahomet, "must not impose duties for retaliation, and he must not exact duties from those who do not

* This same Grand Dragoman, after three more months of indoctrination, did suddenly get the idea of what the Treaty was: he sat staring for a moment, and then exclaimed, "Quel monstre c'est l'homme!"

place duties in return." This abstaining of the Turks from a lucrative branch of investment will be held as something noble and generous. But what avails individual conscience against aggregate infidelity? Conscientiousness without judgment adds another argument for misanthropy, to knowledge without courage, and good intentions without knowledge.

Take the English. By their authority and power this Treaty was imposed. They know the effects of placing prohibitory duties on the exports of a country. They have been for years engaged in inducing other countries to abandon restrictions on trade; here they force a Treaty upon Turkey to prohibit her own exports. These exports would otherwise come to themselves. Not a word has ever been said in England except in commendation of this Treaty. When a statement of the case was made in the House of Commons, the Minister could get up and justify his conduct, amidst cheers, by stating it to be the reverse of what it was. The English then are exactly on the same line as the merchants I left this morning at Saïda—or worse: they dare to speak of it; the English do not.

This Treaty has been my occupation of years; involving ceaseless toil and anxiety, ultimately crowned with success. By a quiet, peaceful, commercial operation, I expected to cause to cease the interference of Russia in Europe as well as in Turkey; for trade being suffered to return to its

natural channels, she should be deprived of the fictitiously created financial means by which she is enabled to disturb the world. The measure had been accepted on these grounds, and as realizing these ends, by the English Government; it is, at the moment of signing, by the alteration of a paragraph and the insertion of a clause, changed into an instrument for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, and transfers to Russia the monopoly of the supply of grain for Europe!

There are two kinds of assassins: the assassin of want, and the assassin of passion. There are two kinds of misanthropists: the man who is merely disgusted, and the man who, having endeavoured in vain to serve men, is vengeful.

Both temptations were here presented to me in a fashion perhaps not ever equalled in any case of their several success; either might have prevailed, had it not been that I knew them before I commenced, and looked for nothing but persecution, had I succeeded.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTRAST OF TIMES. CONFLICT OF USAGES. TYRE.

THE night overtook me on the beach. The bright flashes from the mass of approaching and spreading clouds, served to quicken my speed and to shew me my way. The cry of the jackall rose on every side and filled the dismal air with its oppressive sound. To lose one's way along the beach seemed impossible; yet I lost it, and had been floundering for some time in ditches, when a large dark building was cast on the streak of the southern horizon; it was the gate of Tyre. My servants were waiting in some alarm, and joyfully welcomed me. I expected to see here only some fishermen's huts, but found myself conducted through an extensive bazaar, and along a port, where numerous small craft were laid up, and large vessels at anchor. At last I reached the house of the English Consul, or agent, and was shewn into a chamber of novel structure. Scarcely had I been seated when the storm burst upon us in all its fury. This was the second time within a few days that it had just given me time to reach shelter;

there have been many storms, yet have I not during three months been touched by a drop of rain.

Opening, next morning, the shutters of the glassless upper room in which I had slept, I saw four brigs and a schooner lying snugly, as in a harbour, under the lee of this place, the wind being from the west. Before the siege by Alexander, the island of Tyre sheltered a channel, in the same manner as the island of Sidon. A glance at the place from the terrace this morning, in the midst of the hurricane, sufficed, in consequence of the study I had made of the island of Sidon, to satisfy me as to its geology.

The rock of Saïda is not a regular stratum, but a mere induration of sand, like that which I found on the western coast of Africa. There the formation of it has taken place on the surface of a bank several hundred feet high; at first I took this sandstone for that which I had found in the Lebanon, under the calcareous formation; but afterwards I observed it worked into circular holes, and leaving standing points, so like that of Morocco, that I suspected that it must be of a similar nature.

This conclusion I had means of establishing along the coast. The difference with the sand coast of Morocco is, that it has been formed nearly at the level of the sea; at Saïda it has nowhere more than 20 feet elevation: at one point on the

coast, there is a headland running out with a square tower, where it may be 50 feet; but there its nature is changed, and it contains large quantities of rolled stones from the calcareous range: otherwise it is found at intervals lying along the beach, more like a mere induration of the sea sand, than a distinct stratum. The face of the country has, in other respects, remained the same; the Roman mile-stones, when formed of materials too hard for their chisels, or too heavy for their means of transport, lie in the places where they stood only half buried; and in a field, I observed the one pier of a bridge of unmistakable Phœnician stones, which crossed a meandering rivulet; which now, so far as marked by this river, follows exactly the course it held two or three thousand years ago.

Finding the island of Tyre to be a sandstone of the same description, there can have been no lofty and beetling rock to oppose the "bank cast up" by Alexander.

The rain continued to batter and the wind to howl till shortly before sunset, giving me time to loiter on the ramparts, and admire the waves dashing over the long reefs of the fallen walls, here and there certified as Tyrian by the projecting fragments of granite columns. The rock is the agglomerated sand. There are, standing above the water to the south-west, calcareous masses, which I might have mistaken for the rock of the place, but for those

still standing remnants of breakwater at Saïda. The plateau of the city is not more than ten or twelve feet above the level of the sea. The modern town covers a half of the space; there are towers and remains of fortifications of the middle ages, with some large edifices of the Turks. The whole has been encircled by a breastwork, directed against the English and their valiant allies in the heroic contest of 1840, which commenced at this place, and where the actors escaped halters, if they did not win crowns. On the breastwork to the west, I had the pleasure of seeing, notwithstanding the state of the weather, the nets spread out to dry; and on an open space behind, a number of boys were playing at ball in a peculiar, and therefore to be supposed a Tyrian manner. This visitation I had endeavoured to perform alone, but was per force accompanied by a train worthy of a Pasha in the olden time; not that I was expected either to find treasure or to lecture on "Progress and Civilization;" but I was a Frank, and might be a Consul.

One of my courtiers this day, for though not a consul, a court was forced upon me, was the brother of my hostess. He brought a strong certificate from Captain Elliot for his services "in the Sultan's cause," and various other documents proving his story, which was this. He was the first to raise the people, had got possession of Tyre, and paid out of his own pocket the men he enlisted; he had

acted by the orders of the English officers, and had spent 40,000 piastres, all his substance. The Turks gave him a command, but, on the withdrawal of the English squadron, displaced him. He had appealed again and again to the Consul in vain, was now naked, and had only one pound a month, which he got from the farmer of customs, to sleep every night outside the walls, to watch that tobacco was not smuggled. He came to beg my intercession with the Consul. I told him it would avail him little. That I was, besides, of opinion that he was very rightly served; that the Turks had done quite right in displacing a man who had taken up arms because told to do so by a foreign agent, and that I could not try to have him recompensed for obliging men, who ought every one of them to be hanged as pirates. He seemed quite aware of the nature of the transaction as regarded our officers, and then shifted his claim to the score of the Sultan. Thinking him already sufficiently punished, and on his professing his abhorrence of all intermeddlers, which I believe was now real enough, I promised to submit his case to the Pasha.

I have mentioned the identity of the rock on which Tyre and Sidon are built with that lining the coast of Morocco; a rock which constitutes there the defence of the country, and to peculiarities of which I have traced the chief characteristic of Moorish architecture; an architecture of which I then derived the original from the Holy Land.

This resemblance did not stand alone. On the hill above Saïda, I observed an oblong vault, the same as those still standing at Shemish (in Morocco), and which I have described. The arch being constructed in the same remarkable manner: that is, as if the wall had been built round a mould. Along the coast, the only buildings seen are, as in Morocco, the cubbé and dome of the tombs. The chief apartment in this house exhibited the same affinity. Apparently, nothing can be more dissimilar than the Moorish room, of thirty-five feet long by seven wide, without a window, and lighted only from a large portal in the centre, and this apartment, which is supported by arches, lighted by four spreading windows, and with a depressed passage traversing it in the middle. The affinity lay, however, in the essentials; this room had that Moorish feature which is its own exclusively, two apartments joined at the base, which is therefore the centre.

My mind occupied in these associations, we sat down to dinner, and what should appear on table but Couscoussou! They did not know it by the name, but called it *Mograbi*, or dish "from the west." It was admirably cooked, but the make was far inferior to the Moorish; the particles were too large and hard; they roll them with the palm of the hand instead of the tips of the fingers. I was all the better pleased to have recalled to me, by a favourable comparison, my hostess among the Ziaïda. It is needless to say that here Couscous-

sou had to be eaten with a spoon; they listened with ill-suppressed incredulity when I explained to them the process of making "cora," and the dexterity with which, at arm's length, the Mograbees projected these into their mouths.

My host was called Atala, and was a Catholic Greek. He wore the old costume, but his house, family, and establishment, as well as his ideas, presented an epitome of many things. Eastern had not yielded here to Western manners, and a grotesque caricature was enacted every moment. The old man laboured to determine in what order self, guest, and wife were to be served. The eldest son, with a cap instead of a turban, strutted about the room with Frank creaking shoes on his feet; presently he came in, and served the pipes and coffee. He ventured not to sit down before his father; but his son, a boy of twelve years old, had no such scruples, and only waited till he had learnt English, to call his father "Governor." The hostess was a fine woman of fifty; she wore the open robe short, and the long wide trousers of the same stuff under it. A spreading *shuffa* flowed over her back, waving with every jaunty step, as she strode in her pattens, which raised her six inches from the floor. The shuffa is an imitation of plaited hair (Chaitie), but amounting to ten times the hair any woman's head ever bore: it is spread out so as to fall from shoulder to shoulder, and is entirely covered by a coat of mail, formed of small oblong flattened tags

of gold. They were kind, but very embarrassing, with their attempted tables and knives and forks, and would not get out of the notion that it was my extreme humility which made me prefer sitting on the ground, and eating with my fingers. At last I silenced the stupid talk by telling them that Christ eat with his fingers, and that neither Solomon nor Charlemagne, Alexander nor Themistocles, had ever seen a fork. The usual tedious discussion on this conflict of manners followed: a priest who came in backed me thoroughly. I should be glad to put in his own words some of his remarks; but that which has effect from its simplicity, and because it is a testimony of latent thoughts, is not translatable or writeable, and I have difficulty in recalling ideas on a subject worn to me threadbare, and nauseating by its constant recurrence in the shape of sights that annoy or discussions that fatigue. The priest, however, bore I thought rather hard on the old man, so I carried the war into his own quarters. I told him to look at home and see what his church had done to upset the ideas and manners of the people, which it had been the first to disturb. He was astounded and asked the explanation. I told him that at mass that morning, I had been shocked with two pieces of the grossest indecency; first, that they walked into the church with the polluted shoes from the street; the second, that at the elevation of the host they pulled about their dress (turbans), and exposed their poor

bald shaved pates. He said that was the rule observed in the church for eighteen hundred years, and the Turks had been ordered as a distinction to take off their shoes and keep on their turbans. I asked where the rule was to be found for the one, or the order for the other: he did not know. I told him, that I myself had seen this very change, and from similar causes, *commence* in the Greek church. He contended that it was a proper sign of respect to take off the turban. I asked why they did not do it then when they entered the church, and if it was with them a manner of shewing respect; if, on the contrary, it was not a shame to expose the head; and lastly, whether God from the burning bush had told Moses to pull off his turban, and had not told him to take off his shoes? He answered, that the ceremonial law had been abolished under the new dispensation. I asked if these things were in the ceremonial law? I finally brought him to confess that neither he nor any members of his church had ever thought on the subject; and that it was some strangers from Rome, who knew nothing of the country, and who sought to innovate in their ignorance or pride, who had commenced this disturbance of immemorial custom; of which he could perceive the ridicule in the circumstances around us, and the evil consequences alike in the character and fortunes of the people.

December 10th.—I went to the bath, but it was such a hole that I had to return re-infecta. After

losing two hours by being kept for breakfast I got off by midday. I was very desirous of visiting the reefs around, to trace which was natural rock, which masonry, and to follow the lines of fallen walls, if perchance they might yet be distinguished. But the sea was rolling too heavily to expect smooth water for four and twenty hours at least, had it then fallen calm; I therefore contented myself with visiting the port. It looks to the north, and though not so shallow, is less spacious than that of Saïda; it has two entrances, one to the west, and one to the north. The current from the south runs through and keeps it in some degree clear. The moles now standing are of recent structure, in which polished granite columns are largely employed; they lie about in heaps, or protrude from the ground and water. The anchorage is in front of the port, and open to the north; the holding ground is uphill and good.

On leaving the gates, we came on a portion of the ancient city higher than the rest, all dug out and quarried, as if a city were building in its neighbourhood; and this quite recently. I had marvelled and marvelled at the wiping out of this place; had it fallen into the deep, or been destroyed by the elements, or carried off by man; how could such masses so totally disappear? I now came to reflect that Tyre had been exposed to plunder in a greater degree than any other ancient city of note. It was on the high way of traffic; it was all exposed, attracting the eye of every seafarer; every vessel

could embark materials from its bay. Nineveh and Babylon were covered in, Memphis and Thebes might be a quarry for some petty neighbouring town, once in ten centuries. The ravaging of Tyre must have commenced a thousand years before that of other memorable places. From the time of Alexander it has lain so exposed; and at hand during the great building periods of Rome and all her tributary cities, down to Constantinople. Tyre may even have contributed colonnades to Carthage.

A more wonderful object awaited me on getting to the isthmus. Here was the seven months' work of Alexander's army:—a causeway carried two miles through the sea; and at the extremity rising to face and overtop walls of 150 feet in height.

From Mount Soracte to look down on Rome; from the Giant's Mount, to trace the windings of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, is to overwhelm the mind with reminiscences recalled, and reflections suggested. There has been accumulated the power of the earth; there has been grasped the faculties of land and sea. But the scenes are too vast; and in either case, the spot before you sinks into insignificance, in its ungraspable associations. Nevertheless, a piece of earth in both cases, supplies food for the substance of the mind, vast, delightful and enduring.

Far different, however, was that species of food as furnished by this bit of rock, on which I looked out from my chamber in the roof. There was a sense

of possession in its minuteness, and an infinitely greater proportionate expansion in its associations. This little fragment once commanded the sea; and the sea always commands empire and the earth. It was not that this empire sprung up the patrimony of trafficking and ingenious men. Empire had already been the conquest of one state great in numbers, arts, permanency and dominion; had passed to another, equally rearing itself by conquest; and the Tyrian dominion arose after and between the rivalries, of Egypt and Assyria. Not that it triumphed over them, but continued throughout their struggles, remaining arbiter at their close. Listen to Alexander on the opposite shore, as he addresses his Macedonians.

"I can by no means deem it safe, my friends and companions, to continue our pursuit of Darius, while Tyre remains unsubdued. Whilst we are pushing our conquests against Babylon and Darius, our enemies by the help of their fleet might transfer the war to Greece. When Tyre is taken, the great and mighty force of their navy will fall into our hands; we shall reign absolute sovereigns of the sea. The way will be laid open to Egypt, and Egypt in our hands we may march on Babylon."*

Power is relative. It is not alone by the means which you possess, but by that in which others are deficient that dominion is secured. Thus it was that, possessed by some and not by others, horses, ele-

* Condensed from Arian.

phants, and gallies, decided in successive ages the fate of the world.

Had the island of Tyre been some cable lengths further out, the conquering career of Alexander would have been arrested. Had the other cities of Phœnicia not been reduced, and their navies not been brought against Tyre, Tyre would not have fallen.* The Phœnicians fell as the Lebanon has fallen, by disunion amongst themselves †

After riding along the southern beach of the isthmus, I came unexpectedly, having no guide, on a gush of water, which I took to be the stream from the aqueduct. I traced its course a short way, and came on tanks built up in masses of old masonry. The description corresponded; but this could not be the Fountain of Solomon. I soon observed an aqueduct of larger dimensions, turning towards the same point, and following it about a couple of miles came to other sources equal to any expectations; there were three or four pools raised about twenty-five feet: one of the blocks of masonry was eighty feet square;

* It was during this siege that chain cables were first used, in consequence of the dexterity of the Tyrian divers, who constantly cut away the ground tackle of their adversaries.

† In another work, "The Pillars of Hercules," I have said so much upon the Phœnicians, that I avoid enlarging on the subject here. But as their inventions were the elements of their greatness, I must beg the curious reader to consult that work for the proofs which I have there collected of their having discovered the Mariner's Compass; an essay which should have more properly belonged to a work describing Tyre and Sidon, than to one describing only Tartessus.

inside, the pool was octagonal; the water rising in it pours off at three sluices, and turns six mills. I observed trout swimming familiarly about, they are not molested. It is a river which springs up, and certainly the Queen of the sea had an unrivalled bowl on land.

Nothing can be more idle than the discussion respecting the deflection of the course of the aqueduct. I expected to find it running some five or six miles at least northward, and then turning and running as many more westward to Tyre; otherwise how could the question arise of its determining the position of old Tyre. The whole distance is a few fields; the water is brought from the beginning in the direction of the base of the isthmus; it forms an angle at one part, but is continuous; evidently to spare some princely gardens, for it could not be an early work. The fountain I have first mentioned, being close at hand, would be first employed; and when its supply was insufficient for the growing population, the other source would be brought down through lands then adorned and built upon. These are Artesian wells: here, as in so many other cases, the earliest works have only anticipated the most recent discoveries.

I had now to make the best of my way to a village three hours distant, on the road to Beled Bsharré. We hurried across through cultivated fields, and over the broken ground, which rises above the strip of rich land on the shore; these hills are poor-looking, full of rock, and destitute of trees, though generally they are under the plough.

In the hollows where there is moisture there are mulberries, and some olive trees of old date. I observed repeatedly what appeared to be fragments of columns on the eminences; and on visiting one of them it proved to be a square stone post, standing 10 feet above the ground, and grooved on one side. Soon after, I observed a couple; they were at a considerable distance from my road, but I hastened to them, and was recompensed by discovering an ancient oil press complete. The posts stood four feet apart, both had the groove corresponding; in front was the round trough for crushing, entire; behind the roller lay a block, which might weigh six tons, and close by a deep reservoir for the oil hollowed in the rock. This country must, therefore, at some period, and a very remote one, have been an olive forest. Here may be seen the farm buildings and arrangements of the time of Moses.

As the sun was setting, we reached the summit of the first range of elevations, and found a village close to it; we entered it, supposing it to be Nacfaya, our place of destination, and whither instructions had been sent on to have conack and supper ready. There was no conack and no supper, for this was not Nacfaya, which we were told was distant *eight hours!* My servants were in great disquiet and discomfort, but the gloom gradually yielded before my delight at having succeeded in losing myself.

I had observed, as we approached the place,

several men on horses sitting like statues, and other signs of the neighbourhood of some person of importance. A horse richly caparisoned was led by, and as I was admiring him, a Turkish gentleman, as I imagined, came out of a cottage. He was however a Metuali, and nephew to "Hamed the Bey," as they term their chief. He advised me not to attempt going on that night, for the country was a labyrinth. He himself was going in a different direction, but would order one of the cottages to be prepared for me. His appearance, address, costume, and attendance, was far above any thing I could have expected among the Metuali, and superior to any thing I had seen among the Druzes. There was no pretence; the Osmanli was well worn, and I was glad that I had not been diverted from visiting this people by the contemptuous discourses respecting them, to which my ears had become accustomed. The village itself having no view of the sea and Tyre, I walked to the brow of a hill in front of it to take a last farewell; also for the sun-set, which would be each evening a wonder in our countries.

The evening I entered Tyre, the heaven was as a roof; now, and from this elevation, the sea was as a floor: in it was not reflected, but on it was cast, the shadow of the clouds and the tints of the sky. The black line of the city was the only figure on that silver field; within the border of the dark land, the light danced on the waters flowing from the pools

of Solomon. The balmy breath of the Mediterranean streamed up, heightened in fragrance as the warmth of the day waned. The clouds seemed in myriads to hold council on the colours they were to put on; they changed and changed, and I watched and watched, till "all was grey."

I had been absent an hour, and found supper ready; but my French-taught Sidonian was sitting among the baggage. I had a visit from half a dozen of the elders. The name of this village is Aïtat; the second of the name I have met with. I told them of the Aïtat of Morocco, their predecessors who recollected having left Syria three thousand years ago. The village is composed of 15 houses; it pays six thousand piastres a year, or £60, and six hundred measures of grain of eight okes each, equal to £100 value. The former is for the Government, the latter principally for the chiefs. The Government tax is about £1 a head. They had nothing else to complain of, except bad seasons and short crops. This too reminded me of Morocco, where I had been answered that they only suffered from God's evils, "Old age and bad weather." Two other Moorish words met me; a district called *Zehil*, and another *Garb*. They smoke the nargellé, which, after a few whiffs, they pass round, as the red Indians the pipe. It is a curious instrument of coarse native manufacture. They do not smoke Tomback, but a composition of tobacco and *dibs*; the treacle made by boiling the juice of the

grape. I cannot say I liked it much, but it is a sight to see a group of peasants enjoying a luxury, with us restricted at once to the wealthy and the exquisite. The nargillé is used by rich and poor, young and old, men and women. We have a notion that it affects the lungs; it would not appear so, for the lungs in this country are in such perfect condition that no one seems aware of his having any. Nor let it be supposed that this is in consequence of the climate; persons so affected find benefit from it, and it has even been introduced at the hospital in London for diseases of the chest. This hut is a good specimen of that class of houses. It is adapted for the family and the cattle; but the distinctions of grade are so arranged, that nothing is found of the offensive nature we might suppose. An inclined spot is chosen. The floor is on two levels, the lower for the cattle. Their heads are on a level with the floor used by the family, and are turned towards it. At the edge of that floor is a hollow of plastered clay to serve as manger, and as you look down you get familiarized with their various countenances: the row of horned heads affords the image of the decoration of a Doric entablature. Such must have been the manger in which Christ was laid. Nothing could be more unnatural than to go up the stall to lay a child in the manger; nothing more natural than to depose it in one so constructed. Their food is corn, or chopped straw, for both of which the manger equally serves. This

hut contained three camels, two asses, two horses, and six cows. They occupied the one half and the lower one, and had their separate door. The people on the upper part had steps, on one side of the continuous manger, to get down to the cattle. They had on their own platform a small door, through which you could creep out on the higher ground of their side of the house. There were no windows and no apertures, except these two doors. In one corner was the fire-place with chimney of projecting cane work, coming down to catch the smoke. Clay, plastered and wrought into ornaments, adorned the chimney and the door. On the clay floor, mats were spread, and on one side were the wicker and clay bins for grain and stores. The roof was supported by two transverse walls hollowed out into Gothic arches, resting on a column; the two columns stood in the middle, between the people and the cattle, and interrupted the manger.

I had been much dissuaded from venturing among the Metuali, or Kizzil-bash, as they were ferocious and fanatic; they would not eat with Christians or Mussulmans, nor use the dishes out of which they had eaten: that I risked being stoned as well as maltreated in a country where there was absolutely nothing of interest either in the way of scenery, antiquities, or people. I naturally apprehended that, being neither the guest of a chief nor within reach of any person of authority, I might fare ill as regards supper; but presently a

stewed fowl and a dish of bourgoul made its appearance, which would not have disgraced any country. It must not, however, be omitted that this was paid for, and a bakshish expected for the night's lodgings.

I succeeded in affording relief in a recent case of hernia, and was soon assailed by patients. Two things are exceedingly painful in travelling; the sight of disease which you cannot relieve, appealing to you in full confidence that you have power to relieve; and the parting with friends with the expression of the hope to meet again, a hope you feel never can be realized.

Dec. 11*th.*—I started this morning with the sun, yet notwithstanding constant inquiries and speedy travelling, I reached Tebnin only two hours before sunset; though the distance is absolutely insignificant. I could not have travelled less than twenty-five miles. I went over one piece of ground four times. It is true I had first to make for the village I intended to reach last night, which made a difference of half the distance. I have not, however, lost my pains.

The country is a labyrinth of rounded hills; each valley breaking into two, these again in like manner bifurcating, with villages here and there, so that at the bottom of each valley at least there is a road, and perhaps another over the hill. The people are wonderfully ignorant, or perhaps affect to be, of places and distances. From eight persons, of whom

we so successively asked the way, we could get no distinct answers; when only three miles distant, some said it was twenty-four, others said they did not know where it was. We overshot it considerably, and reached from the opposite side. As we were ascending the hill on which it stands, we overtook a person on horseback, of homely but substantial mien. He wore a heavy black turban, was short and thick set, with jetty black beard, and a fine open countenance. We addressed to him for the five hundredth time the question, "Is this the way to Nacfaya?" He eyed us, and then broke out into a sort of whistle, "No wonder that you did not come," said he, "last night from the east, since this morning you arrive from the west." After this he gave me the salutation which ought to have preceded my question, and told me he had waited supper two hours for me. On arriving, he conducted me to a very nice little apartment, all clay, indeed, but with divans round covered in white. I contrasted it, not unfavourably, with the row of ox and ass heads, though I was very glad for once to have seen the other. Breakfast was brought; a dish of fried eggs and another of honey, to be scooped alternately with cups of marcook (scons). A fork was brought for me; I said I preferred my fingers; he merely answered, "I sent for it that you might have your choice." What a contrast with the city people of Tyre! He drank from a vessel with a spout, at arm's length, as the Proven-

çals and the Catalonians; so this, too, was a Tyrian usage. Two persons in perfect rags came in on business; it was wonderful to compare the courtly manners and the beggarly attire. My host, after attending to my wants, entered a little into conversation, in the light easy way of a man of the world, and then, without pressing, observed how much he should be gratified if I could make it not disagreeable to spend the day there. My wonder increased respecting these belied Metuali. This was a man in very humble circumstances, two ragged boys being all his male attendants. In regard to etiquette, there was no more difficulty than as to eating; he treated me as he would a Mussulman. It was only after I left that I learnt he was a Maronite.

The village is of 25 houses, but very poor; they pay 4000 piastres and 400 measures. I asked my host if there was anything behind this: he shook his head, and said, "There are many oppressions, but the chief is this tax, which the people are too poor to pay; they have little land." I said it struck me that the people had little industry. "You must have observed," he answered, "how busy they all are." "Yes, at present, for it is sowing time. They are laborious, but not industrious. I see no implements in their houses; no home-made clothes on their backs, and I am told by those who know them, that in the intervals of field labour they loll about and do nothing." "There is no interval of labour; when the grain is not to be sown or cut, the tobacco

is; and if neither, there are grapes and oil. All the year is occupied." "Yes; occupied, but in different degrees: if they had home industry, to be taken up in all intervals of labour, and pursued by the women, the regular field labour would not be interrupted, their time would be filled, and the money that goes to the town would remain in their pockets." "Your merchants would not like that." "I wish it as much on our account as on yours; the English manufactures are injuring England as much as Syria."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE METUALI.

FINDING that the chief of all the chiefs, "Hamed the Bey," was not at his capital, I determined to push on for Tamar Bey, seven miles further, as he had returned from his muster, his district being rated at 7000 males. Tebnin is on a higher level than the hills I had been amongst, and crossing the ridge from which it became visible, I had a last sight of Tyre. The hills, now swelling in dimension without changing in nature, put a new face on the landscape, and when I had got to the crest of the ridge, a vast extent of country was spread before me. Opposite stood the castle of Tebnin, crowning a hill; beyond, lay the country of the Metuali; and beyond again, rose all along the horizon the mountains of the Druzes. First, there was the Lebanon foreshortened, and of which the edge stood towards you, exposing at this distance its geological formation, with all its peculiarities of fracture and levels. Then the Anti-Lebanon swept down, and spread further out, the double crest of Gebel el Sheik forming the centre. His crown of snow, since I saw him last, has greatly enlarged its borders. Then along the horizon, the nodule-like

hills of the Hauran, again Druze country, and which, on the other side, overhangs the Ledja, and looks upon Damascus.

The castle of Tebnin, which I had heard of as the stockade of a Metuali chief, was a whitewashed building, tumbling in ruins; but still in its strange towers, curtains, and escarpments, there is something of the Crusades. I looked again, and was reminded of a frontispiece to an Elzevir edition of Cæsar's Commentaries, in which, in my youth, I had pored over an Helvetic illustration of Roman circumvallation. There was the turreted circles, the scarped cone, and the whole placed on a mountain. I descended the gully and scrambled up the other side, and now, on a nearer approach, I could distinguish the materials. The small squared stones of the country appeared above; but the lower part was of other masonry. Was it Saracen or Pelasgic? Roman or Jewish? was it Tyrian or Cyclopic? It was all these, and more.

I reached a little straggling village on the plateau below the castle, and intended to leave there my horse while I ran up to look at the inside of the ruin, when my bridle was seized by a couple of men, who turned me round, and I found I was to be conducted so to it. A person of official air, with European pistols in his belt, then addressed me, saying that he had received that forenoon orders from his master to have the castle in readiness for my reception, and to make his apologies for not

being able to be there to receive me. Of course I had now to give up the idea of proceeding that night, and was wondering to what I could owe such unexpected civilities, when one of the men conducting me said, "We heard this morning that Daoud Bey was to arrive to-night, and we have been watching all day." Nor could I get any explanation beyond this.

We reached the gate by a paved ramp; we passed the portal of modern style, and found ourselves between mean and ruined walls, in the midst of mud and filth. Entering a small court, I dismounted on a step opposite to a rude cavern, rather than chamber, which seemed to be the scene appointed for the preparations. Against the wall was placed one of those bed frames, or raised estrades of wood, six or seven feet wide and eight long, with a railing round three sides, on which a mattress is laid with cushions around, which may be garnished with the richest stuffs. This may be carried into the garden, or placed in the rudest apartment, and serves for sleeping at night and living by day, free from the inconveniences of dirty floors or unfurnished walls. Such a Farash was placed in this cavern; and so soon as I had taken my place excellent sherbet was served in cut crystal, the napkin richly embroidered. Then followed a Persian nargillé in gold and enamel, and at the first whiff the odour of Shiraz revealed itself. I then saw that it was a Persian who had presented it. The Vakil came again to make excuses; that the place

was ruined, as indeed I saw, that the only apartments covered in were the Harem, that the Bey was now constructing proper apartments above, and he much regretted they were not ready. These I afterwards saw; they were as regards the stone work in very good style, and the colour, though coarse, was also free from the false European taste. I proposed visiting the ruins, when a pompous old Persian walked in and endeavoured to engage me in conversation on Shah Shoojah, Runjet Sing, and Cabool. This Shirazi Tombac, this Irani Khan, are they evidences of another foreign influence? Strangely divided race, where every force is centrifugal. I however broke away from Herat and Peshawar, with which the Khan did not cease to pursue me all round the battlements, first to examine the ruins, then to view the country. The first operation took up all that remained of the day, leaving also something for the morrow. The second was performed at intervals in the course of our scramble; and here I nearly terminated my career. After so many ruins scrambled over with impunity, here on a ledge my left foot slipped, so that both legs shot out over a height of sixty feet; but a branch of a tree was within reach by which I caught.

The sun had gone down for us, when I was examining and sounding one of the cisterns, of which they count 360. As I emerged I had a glimpse of the country to the north and east, as if lighted up by a flame of barytes. I got on the top of a wall

and watched the changes over this wild theatre, constructed of so many and such diverse forms, and already painted in so many colours. The Lebanon was clear; Gebel Sheik was as but the basis of a pile of clouds, themselves a mountain twice Mount Blanc; only that towards the middle there hung a thin horizontal streak, which spread as an awning over half the heavens. The sun, as I have said, had set for us behind a hill; he had set too for the lowlands of the Metuali, but he was playing with all his smiles on the green cliffs and slopes of the Lebanon, and striking on the clouds in floods of orange and purple. The pure sky seemed struggling with itself as to what precious stone it would be; the victory remained with the sapphire, for as the sun departed, the lines of colour rose in the opposite sky, and all the shades of red passed over its face, till the last glow went; and then came the blue to the air, and the grey to the land, and the white to the clouds; and as the colours rose the clouds descended, and laid bare the snowy crests of the old head of the Sheik against the azure heavens.

The Khan, whose Farsi chatter had even been arrested, now exclaimed, "It is like a sunset at Herat."

Now came the question, was I to eat alone? The supper was served for one. I begged the Khan to let me feel his pulse, and remonstrated with him on the injury his health was undergoing by too much fasting. The contest ended abruptly by his plunging his hand

into the dish. They brought me, just as they would do in our highlands, bad bread instead of excellent cakes, for which I did not fail to ask, and after they came, to scold.

December 12th.—My demand for marcook brought me this morning a distinguished compliment. A message from the Harem, a repetition of that from Hamed the Bey, and with breakfast a bundle of marcook, which the ladies had themselves prepared.

I again inspected the castle, and admired the view. There runs through the middle, one of those ancient walls, twelve feet thick, built of stones of five and six feet long. I here saw what appeared to me the earliest form of stones, chiselled on the edges and the centre left rough, as we find among the Etruscans and Romans; a broad border is chiselled, and the centre is left very high; in fact nothing has been taken off it, no chisel has been used, it has been picked smooth by strokes of a pointed hammer or pickaxe, and the mark is there as if they had just come from the quarry. Inside of the building these stones are not to be found, so to say in situ, but built with other large stones of very ancient structure, yet taken from ruins more ancient still. The rock on which the castle is placed has been scarped all round to a slope, and where the rock fails the talus is made up with masonry. The recent rains had laid bare a considerable portion of this work, and I stood in face of a Jewish, if not Philistine, edifice or escarpment, still standing above 100 feet in height.

This was something, considering that the great conquerors of the earth had conspired to fill up their ditches, and level their walls.

This fortress bears testimony to the well-digging propensities of the Canaanites. They reckon 360 cisterns, and I do not think the estimate excessive; wherever the ground is a little disencumbered you cannot walk ten paces without coming on the mouth of one. The whole stands on a substructure of cisterns. Below the fortress the ground is in like manner burrowed. The women were drawing water from one on the neck of the hill, and five or six others were stopped up. Elsewhere and everywhere they are to be found, sometimes with extensive masses of masonry supporting them, columns standing in them, and other indications of their having been covered in.

The fortress has not been merely a rude defence; however strong, it has been embellished in its day. I saw a granite column and several fragments of marble, but the most interesting memorial was one of the large sarcophagi. A fragment indeed only remains, placed on a mass of stone and mortar masonry, which has now slipped down; but the whole has evidently been part of the building, and identifies it with the people who have left these nameless tombs, and these again with the mortar walls.

Standing on the highest summits to the north, the Vakil, who I find is also a Persian, pointed out to me the wide domains that own his master's sway, the crests of three of the seven castles which his

father had built. "Here," pointing towards Sidon, "you travel seven hours through Metuali country; here, towards Tyre, six hours; here, towards Gebel Sheik, six hours; there, towards Acre, six hours; to cross it in any direction requires a summer's day, and from one frontier to another a woman may pass with gold in her hand unharmed."

I asked how many men he had for his guard, and for this service; he answered ten. He then said that one hundred villages had been entirely ruined, that the country had never recovered from the ravages of Jezzar Pasha, that they had no water, and had heavy taxes. He hoped better days were coming, since the Sultan had got his own again (from Ibrahim Pasha he meant).

Tebnin is the ancient Thoron of the Crusades, and ill-famed in their story. It is reported as *built* by Hugh of St. Omer, to whom, on the accession of the second Baldwin, Tancred, who went to replace Bohemond, abandoned Galilee. But of course it was as much built by him as by the modern Metuali chief who claims, in our days, to be its founder. The 600,000 warriors and the lion-hearted Richard who constituted the third Crusade, ended with, and was summed up in the capture of Acre; but all the other places on the coast were lost to the Christians. The fourth Crusade mustered itself to an attack on Thoron, and melted before that place. The Ayoubite Princes, after the death of Saladin, divided his possessions, and each

set up for himself; they were soon engaged in wars. This was the moment for the new armies just arrived from Europe to regain their lost ground. They issued from Acre, and, in proceeding northward along the coast, were attacked by the whole force of the Mussulmans, who crossed the Lebanon to meet them on the river Eleuthros. They were beaten so thoroughly, that all the towns of the coast, from Sidon to Laodicea, fell without resistance into the hands of the Franks. Their power was thus restored from Antioch to Ascalon in the maritime region, and the fortress of Thoron alone held out. The Christians were determined to besiege it. The details of this operation are given by Arnold de Lubeck in a manner to rival the sieges of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Acre. The height of the wall, the enormous size of the rocks on which it was placed, the difficulties of the approach, the fruitlessness of the first efforts of the Crusaders, the security of the besieged, whom no missiles reached, and the effect of their missiles on the besiegers, all would lead to the inference that this was a castle placed on a cliff, and defended by its height and solidity. But its strength was in the labour of some early race, and the subsequent events of the siege shew that it was so. After a continued repetition of those efforts of daring valour which signalized the sieges of the Crusaders, but without thereby making any impression on the place, a new process was discovered. In the ranks

and serving under the Duke of Saxony were miners from Ramsburg; they undertook to mine the walls, and succeeded so well, that without stroke of the battering-ram, and to the consternation of the besieged and the joy of the besiegers, down tumbled towers and curtains as by a miracle. Here there is no mistaking Tebnin, and I think I can fix on the spot towards the south end where this attack was made, at a place where the present lines fall within the ancient ones, and where the built talus is displaced. In fact, the miners commenced below the foundation of the talus, which, giving way, of course brought down on them the ramparts themselves, which perhaps overhung the spot of the mine by a couple of hundred feet.

The Mussulmans, losing all hopes of safety, sent to offer the place with all its riches, and all they asked was to be allowed to retire with life. But this Christian camp was without chiefs who could command or soldiers who would obey. Some were rejoiced at the submission of the Saracens, some were enraged at seeing a plunder, which they deemed in their hands, snatched away by a capitulation. The envoys of Thoron were received in a public assembly, and conditions were settled with them; but the adverse party warned them against submission, as they could expect no mercy. On returning, they represented the fury and the divisions of the Christian camp; and the inhabitants and garrison, animated at once, if I may so say, with

hope and despair, resolved to hold out to the last. They hurried to the walls to denounce the capitulation and defy their foes. They reformed their walls, plied their machines, countermining the miners, attacked them in their mines. As they rallied, the Christian host—divided, suspicious of one another, sacrificing instead of supporting each other in partial attacks—seemed to have changed at once places and character with the besieged.

In the meantime the Mussulmans, aroused and united by the danger, assembled from Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo. The news of their approach completed the demoralization of the Christian host. The chiefs, to veil and facilitate their own flight, published a general assault for the following morning, and decamped during the night. The army, on finding themselves without chiefs, and fearing foes and treachery, disbanded in the wildest confusion; and those who were so lucky as to make good their retreat, neither stopped nor tarried till they found themselves safe within the walls of Tyre. The forces of the West were broken before this little Syrian fort.*

I had been looking in vain for traces of the Crusaders, but could not discover any, excepting of course in the towns of the coast. It is probable that the Lebanon held its own against them; and

* Cette quatrième croisade dans laquelle toutes les forces de l'occident viurent échouer contre une petite fortresse de la Syrie. *Michaud*, t. iii. p. 69.

the terraces shew, that in ancient times the population was more dense than to-day. It was at Shimlan that I first heard of, and observed, traces of terraceing on elevated parts, which must for many centuries have lain waste and barren. Tebnin is out of the range of the Lebanon. Nor is it against the Crusaders alone that the Lebanon was shut. Alexander made nothing of it. This particularly appears from mention made of successes, whatever they may have amounted to, obtained against the Anti-Libanus.*

After leaving for "Hamed the Bey," and sending to the ladies, such compliments as I should not like to set down on Frank paper, I set forth, accompanied by all the male inmates of the castle down to the village. I then descended the south side of the hill and ascended another, where, observing a column, I went to see it, and found a piece of stone twelve feet high, a column with a pedestal left square, the pedestal still stood two feet above ground, and on the top of the column was a hole for fixing the continuation; it was three feet in diameter.

An hour more brought us to a largish village on

* "In the meantime, while the engines were preparing and the ships fitting out, as well to attack the city (Tyre) as for a sea-fight, Alexander, with some troops of horse and targeteers, beside archers and Agrians, made an excursion into Arabia, to the mountain called Anti-Libanus; and having reduced the country thereabouts, partly by force, and partly by composition, at the end of ten days, he returned to Sidon."—*Arrian.*

the bare side of a hill, and in front a large two-story house equally bare, the residence of Tamar Bey. I heard him everywhere well spoken of. He had lately lost his father, and had just come into possession; he had never quitted his native hills. Having been disappointed in seeing Hamed el Bey, I was curious as to what this Metuali chief might be. I did not send before, and determined not to present my letter from Emin Effendi, till after all the little matters which constitute the great concerns of Eastern life were settled. I had the advantage of meeting whilst he was in motion—a great point when ceremonial is unadjusted; he was coming down stairs, so that he, approaching, had to take the initiative. He was embarrassed, and I admired the manner in which he got through his difficulties, and very soon could present my letter, without its making any difference. I had regretted in the morning that Walter Scott had not had the opportunity of witnessing on another scene, the attempts he has so well described, of poverty to hide its rags, and fallen dignity to deserve, in at least the forms of its hospitality, its own respect. Here it was another picture. I had left the ruined castle of the Grand Seigneur of Richard II. for the Celtic Tanistry, which has descended nearly to our times.

Tamar Bey is remarkably handsome. His features combined the Roman and Greek ideal. The oval chin and reflective mouth and forehead of the Hellene, and the salient and resolute nose and cheek

of the Imperial people. The eye glistening and playful, the air soft but not effeminate. I was charmed with him, and I was pleased in watching him, as I did for ten hours, during his intercourse with the persons of so different mould who sat aroud his hall. This hall was a gaunt vault with a mortar floor and a broad estrade or divan of the same material on three sides, but on which mats or carpets were laid. Close by the corner where he sat, and level with the divan, was a hearth on which burnt a brushwood fire. All around crouched the Sheiks, bearded, moustached, shrouded in abbas, accoutred in arms, overshadowed with lowring turbans; all were striking, not one had a trace of beauty, nor did a shade of delicacy by nature or refinement by art, disturb the semblance of Ismaelian and Crusader, but not of troubadour.

I broke the long silence that followed my introduction by the question, "Have you music here?" the reply was "None; such things once abounded, but they are gone." Some trace of chivalry appeared in a gauntlet which lay on the estrade; as I was considering it, the purpose was revealed by the fluttering of a hawk, and the gingle of his bells, which in the darkness of the apartment I had nearly swept with my sulam from his perch. I then observed hawks similarly perched all round the hall, there being holes in the floor for the perches.

The Bey passed me his nargillé after a single whiff, lifting first, as is their wont, the cup containing the

fire, and drawing it free from smoke; when I took the instrument in my hand it felt as if suited for the mace of Richard the First, being of solid silver inlaid with gold. The Bey was mutsellim, or governor, and tax-gatherer of nearly a third of Bsharré. I sat through his ordinary business for three hours. He then addressed himself to me. He had neither the natural faculty of conversation, nor the materials for it; but his quick apprehension and resources in appropriate words, justified the impression he had already made. We fell of course, on Druzes and Hungarians. "It is strange to see in these parts a person from your lands, though they are very common among our mountain neighbours." He then inquired where I had been among the Druzes, what chiefs I had seen, what I thought of them. He expressed assent to my observations, and then proceeded to say: "They are brave, but have weak minds. They are brought up in secrecy, and cheat Mussulman and Christian, whom they equally hate; profess loyalty to the Sultan, and are always intriguing with strangers." I expressed the hope that the Porte would send to Beyrout a Pasha who knew Europe, to stop these things, which no nation in Europe desired, and which were no part of the functions of Consuls, who were only commercial agents. "The Sultan has been long enduring;"—and the subject dropped. After a while: "Are there not ambassadors and consuls from Turkey in England?" Yes. "What

would you do with them if they meddled with your mountains and Sheiks?" As I said nothing, he smiled and nodded; and the conversation dropped. It was resumed by his asking me if the Hungarian matter was ended. I answered that it was so, with a pea left in the wound. "How could Russia withdraw after her demand; she had nothing to learn by the Sultan's answer which she did not know before?" You must know best. "Perhaps the answer of England and France frightened the Muscovite?" Do you think so? "We know England and France are always with Turkey." As at Navarino. "Well, what do you mean?" I am looking for your meaning. "Let them only come and we will see who is now the strongest." Would you have marched to the Danube? "Yes." And how? "It matters not; with the ten thousand muskets of Beled Bsharré, or with one on my single shoulder." And therefore you think they did not come. "Yes." I acknowledged the compliment paid to my understanding by his laconism; on which he explained: "Yes, and every Mussulman would have done the same." So you think Turkey stronger than she was. The whole assembly here answered, "Stronger and becoming still more strong." Then you think you are a match for Russia without us. "I do." Ilhamdulillah. "Then are you not with us." Our people are with you, but the Russians are foxes. "Then why have you taken our part?" What have you said just now? "You take our part only because

we are the strongest." You said Russia learnt nothing by the Sultan's answer, and now withdraws; you meant that she did so, because you were the strongest; did she not know that before? "Of course Russia is not blind." Why then did she demand, knowing what she would get? why retire, having demanded? "Do you know?" I think I do. "Then you think her very foolish." No, very wise, nor has she in any thing shewn more wisdom; she has not Turkey only to manage; she does much work in setting up and pulling down kings. In France she had put one recently up; they made caricatures of him, painting him as a bear's cub. So she makes him step out and say to her, "How dare you —hold back—or I," and other big words, and then all the people say, "What a brave prince; who said he was a Muscovite?" "Your words are strange, and may therefore be true: we hear of France and England always together; yet it was France that went to Egypt, and it is France that holds Algiers, and France and England are they not now troubling the Mountain, and the friends of the Sultan. Praise be to God we do not want such friends."

The conversation here dropped, and perfect silence ensued for the space of half an hour. The sun was setting, and I was impatient to get out, as the sunset had become to me like a friend's visit at an accustomed hour. The only window to the chamber was to the East, and it was the reflected light that made its way in; but I feared to break this stillness.

There was something in that assembly voiceless and motionless that was worth a sunset; and as the waning light fell on the figures on the opposite wall, or cast shadows from those on the same rank with myself, or shewed against the light the row of scribes who had put by their pens, I could scarcely resist the sense of being in a dream, and seeing in it an entranced assembly around Aroun El Raschid; or a tomb opened up, whose occupants were placed in the postures in which they had lived on earth.

When a guest enters, those present are not regulated in their motions by the chief person, but rise according to their respective rank; last of all he comes up to the chief. After the general Selam Aleikum, as soon as seated, each repeats to him Sublé Haïr: to a superior he rises again in making his temenas. Thousands of times in the course of the twenty-four hours must these walls hear those words; they even repeat them to those asleep, as I this night witnessed. They never miss them on meeting or parting, nor on any occasion for repeating them; going from one apartment to another, bringing in of light, having drank water or eaten supper, &c. The foregoing conversation was at least a dozen times interrupted by the rising of the whole party.

As supper time approached, my curiosity grew with my appetite. I was now at the fountain of knowledge; for that meal must solve for me the enigma. A Turk," whom I found there, all by

himself, and who had a house to himself, told me that they do not even taste dishes which had been touched by us (Mussulmans and Christians). I had seen nothing of the sort, and coffee-cups and sherbet glasses were in full pratique. At last, I saw with the corner of my eye a small round table brought in and placed at the further end of the estrade. A servant of my own came to notify that supper was ready. I was blind and deaf, pertinaciously so; he retreated. Again he came, with no better success: messages were going and coming, and so passed a quarter of an hour, which I rendered absolutely blank by refusing all conversation. At last the Bey made the formal announcement. I protested: I had breakfasted with the Khan before leaving Tebnin, and could perfectly wait his supper hour. Tamar Bey did sit down to supper with me at the little table placed at the end of the room. He, too, gained a victory, for he kept me away from the supper table. The poor Bey was not full of appetite, nor were the dishes such as to provoke it. The quality was execrable; in such cases quantity is supposed to restore the balance, but quantity was wanting. Two small Italian plates, intended for olives, made their appearance, with each three mouthfuls of scraggy goat's flesh, mixed with pulse and green tomatas. After two morsels gulped, the Bey made a sudden retreat; not to the long table, which in the meantime had been placed in the middle of the hall, but to the Harem; whence he

did not emerge all that night, nor next day, till long after the time I had fixed for my departure; but which I postponed, in order, by seeing him again, to take off the edge of the weapon which the habits of his sect had forged, and the inexpertness of his cook had sharpened to my hands.

While we were engaged in this tête à tête, a mat had been laid in the middle of the floor; on this a long table, five or six inches high, had been placed, and, as at a theatre, table, implements, and viands, all came in together, and were instantaneously placed: there were the convives, too, all ready squatted round. The time occupied was the theatrical five minutes; then they were all up and away, the table and mat gone, and all that remained was a man sweeping with an enormous broom, and the hawks. Then some came back, and spreading their jackets in a row, made their prostrations, and again departed. In about half an hour, the Bey's court began to fill, and we had again and again the Suble Haïr, and the embracing, and the gettings up. There was but underbreath conversation and whispering of the groups along the wall. The Turk came and took his place by me, all anxiety to know what had happened; when I said, "The Bey and I supped together:" he was thunderstruck. Inquiries were made for the Bey; he was coming: then the barber came to boil water, the Bey was to be shaved first. So it went on to the end; every quarter of an hour it was "the Bey is coming," and

that to me, who knew full well from the beginning, that the Bey was not coming.

I was in the meantime exceedingly tired, having sat up all the previous night writing; having sat on the hard mortar there through the long hours of that day. I counted off therefore Greybeard and Blackbeard as it gathered up its abba and took its departure. When the last vanished, an attendant brought an armful of satin pillows and gold brocaded coverlids from the harem, and all the household assembled to view the rigging of my anti-flea apparatus; which was of a novel construction, invented only within the week, and constructed in the ancient city, which has left its name in Eastern lands to sheets, and whose inhabitants first invented the process of undressing when going to bed (Sidon).

Dec. 13*th.*—I was ready to start at sunrise, but the Bey not having made his appearance, I sent to say that I could not depart without seeing him, and sat down in his corner, and got my paper and pens. He had expected me to hasten my departure, not to see him. However, whether it was the summons sent or the blockade established, he surrendered at discretion. His self-possession was gone, he wanted to put me in the place of honour: I had to take him by the arm before he would occupy it. Then I set him at ease by conveying to him, not precisely in words, that it was any thing but offence that remained of the reminiscence of last evening. Had I been a Russian agent, I should have had him in my

pocket the moment he sat down at the little round table. He gave me a man to take me to the fortresses of Honin and Skiff, and I took my leave. One of his servants, a nice looking lad, came to ask me to take him with me, for he wished to serve me all his life. The man who accompanied me was handsomely dressed, rode a pretty filly worth here £20, performed his duty without familiarity, and when at the end of the day I dismissed him, he was perfectly satisfied with 15 piastres, little more than half what you would pay at Smyrna for a scoundrel of a valet de place.

A fair was assembling as we were quitting. Stationary booths were erecting, the ground was yellow with oranges, the road filled for half an hour with animals laden with crockery-ware, mats, abbas, and boxes of haberdashery; such as caps, sashes, ready made trousers, which have the convenience of fitting all sizes, the only measure requisite being for height. Not a muleteer passed who did not give his Suble Haïr, many of them drawing up on the road side to salute. After better than two hours travelling through the broken hills, which are here in the hollows well sprinkled with trees, olive, oak, and some ash, we came suddenly out on a deep valley or plain, beyond which unbrokenly rose Gebel Sheik, with a long bank which shoulders him, sweeping down to the south; the bank was cut in gullies by the water down to black rock, the verdure was olive green shaded away into brown, the inequalities

on the summit were rugged, two of them appearing as craters rising higher on the southern side. I have before said, that the Lebanon must have been cast up by a recent volcanic irruption; here one saw the operation distinctly; the gush of the lava upheaving Gebel Sheik, and then after he had been raised the violence of the internal force subsided, and the surface of the fluid mass cooled and hardened; then the mountain had settled down, leaving an interval between his calcareous rock and the lava, and then indenting and pressing it down. On one of the last cliffs of the Sheik, and immediately opposite to us, I distinguished a fortress of singular appearance; it crowned the sharp point of a pyramid of great height and regular form. Afterwards, seeing it more in flank, it proved to be a range of which I had seen the sharp edge; this was Banias, the ancient Panias, the domain of Pan. The plain, which might be ten miles across, was a dead level, smooth as a billiard table, divided off by culture into straight lines of yellow, green and brown, as it was ploughed or not ploughed, or the fresh corn had sprung up. There were no trees, and though entirely under the plough, not a village to be seen. On inquiring, I found that it belonged to the roving Arabs; so in the war of camel hair against stone walls, the former had gained so much ground, and pushed so far into the land of cities. I saw some of their tents, here called *Haimath*, on the hill side, merely a black covering stretched over stone walls and bushes.

At the bottom of the valley to the south, lay the sources of the Jordan, cut off from the superior waters by a chain of low hills, which seem to form a bridge between the Anti-Lebanon and the Lebanon, on the continuation of which I stood. These upheld, as I found on advancing, a circular valley called the Merj Ajoun; it looks like some liquid suddenly rendered solid. The cup in which it is held is a circle of smooth rounded hills, yellow, pale or reddish, the Lebanon limestone. The overflow is to the south; the northern portion is the highest, and turns off the waters running down from the Bkkaa; which force their way through the outlyers of the Lebanon to the sea near Tyre. Through the interval of the two chains might be seen Sonin which overhangs Beyrout, covered with snow; and round to the left the last summits of the Lebanon, seen on edge, amid which I could distinguish the crest of the Gebel Rehan, where I had spent three days with the Messaa.

I had taken the route which had brought me out on the brow whence I had obtained this view, by the wish to see some ruins. Close by, was the fortress of Honin, and under it the village of Mais. We had to descend to it, turning to the north; having dismounted I reached it alone, and found a party of the inhabitants basking in the sun. On the south side of a house built on a sweep of the rock, they were seated, arrayed in the gayest colours, bright green, blue, red, yellow; not to speak of the

gold and silver tissue which bedecks very generally the right shoulder of the abbas, and other parts of the dresses: seated there on the pale rock and illuminated by the sun, they looked like a row of some South American birds, assorted for the contrast of plumage. They rose to meet me, and invited me to join their assembly: I told them I was going to the fortress; soon after, when the Bey's horseman arrived, the whole body followed him, and came and squatted round me on one of the battlements, where I was contemplating the view I have just described. They followed me wherever I went, never obtruding nor even speaking, when I sat down, they stood, until told to be seated; were ready to do any service, and vanished on a sign. I passed my nargillé round, which is not an honour only, but a treat, as they mostly smoke the mixture of tobacco and treacle. With this I made them happy, and they returned contented, after seeing us on our way, and wishing us a prosperous journey.

It might be supposed that to have a nargillé among the rocks, it would be requisite to carry fire and charcoal, but all these things are nicely managed. They have balls made of pounded charcoal and flour, which can be lighted by putting them, with a piece of lighted amadou and a little tobacco, into a small wire cup secured by a chain; this is swung rapidly round the finger; the tobacco burns from the amadou, and the ball is lighted from the tobacco; it is then placed on the nargillé and burns while it lasts.

We now travelled northward on the crest or the side of the chain, till we came to a narrow valley, formed by it and the cup of the Merj. It is well wooded and watered, and around a village there we found every thing that man could desire—vines, fig-trees, walnuts, olives, mulberries, irrigated fields; and dispersed through these the silver poplar, which gives so much sprightliness to a prospect. We now ascended the steep side of the hill, and then descended through a grove of olives to a village, where we had in front the dark massy rock which bore on its summit the castle of Skiff, separated from us by the river of Casemieh which sweeps round its base but too deep in the ravine to be seen. The village is perched among the rocks, interspersed with all kinds of trees, adorned with the Cactus Opuntia, and forms as beautiful an object, and enjoys as lovely and grand a prospect, as any inhabited spot of earth. The height of the rock, the depth of the gully, and the lowness of the sun, put all thought of visiting Skiff that night out of the question. I found too that it was two hours distant, as the water is not fordable, and it is necessary to go round by an ancient bridge; so I contented myself with sitting out the sun on one of the roofs. Indeed he had disappeared behind the cliff on my arrival, and lighted from the other side some corners of the castle, while casting into gloom and darkness the broad mass of rock on which it stood. I then retired to an apartment formed by three walls and a roof,

the fourth being composed of mats which were rolled up or let down at pleasure, the centre one being the doorway. Soon a supper was brought, which might have put to the blush Hamed the Bey, as well as the Bey Tamar. The elders congregated round me as I supped; and as I now write, a dozen sit along the walls in profound silence; a word would cause them to disappear, but it is their pleasure. While eating, dressing, undressing, you are always leading a Roman life, at least such as that Roman desired to lead who said, "Build me a house where I shall be seen by every one every hour of the day." No doubt this is very annoying to Europeans; not only because of the difference of habits, but because they do not know how to get rid of spectators without offending them; also because the people take liberties with them which do become intolerable, as I now found myself, even by having with me one servant accustomed to Europeans. Your servant is the fugleman; their demeanor will be calculated on his; the first word between a servant and his Frank master removes every restraint.

The varieties of the people are like those of the land or the landscape. Here they were Christians, characterised by the reverse of inferiority to their neighbours: curious as to the cause, I inquired if they had domestic industry. Just as a thrifty Highland housewife would have answered, they replied to me. The Sheik, comprehending the object of my question, added, "We are not like the Metuali, who

have to go far away to Sur, and pay three times the price of what they buy; we make at home every thing we want." "And we dye it too," exclaimed a man sitting at his side, and holding up a pair of hands, the cerulean complexion of which, gave colour to his words.

I suppose I am a fixture here for to-morrow at least, for a storm came on which rages still, though the night has advanced towards morning.

CHAPTER IX.

HASHBAYA AND ITS EMIRS.

THE storm has ceased, but the rain continues. I am lucky to be in such comfortable quarters. This village contains eighty houses, the male (arm-bearing) population by the new census is 180. The poll-tax is 16 piastres, they pay 14,000 piastres miri, and furnish 1,900 measures of barley, of six okes, value one and a half piastres, and 700 measures of corn of eight okes, value two and a half piastres; the whole amounts to about 22,000 piastres, or 270 piastres the fire. The measure of grain is equal to 22 pounds, and this they have for less than sixpence, or one farthing per pound! Thus, good wheaten bread enough for daily food may be had for a halfpenny, a horse's keep is sixpence: the public tax of £2. 10*s* a fire would therefore represent a sum equal with us to £12. Wages are so high that a man working one day may eat for three. They offer the antithesis to the European system; there food is dear and man cheap. While recently travelling in Asia Minor, I reached Magnesia very hungry: having outstripped my attendants, I was alone, and went to a common shop, where I had three skewers of kebab, a much esteemed dish, and

the best of the kind I ever tasted, a yufka somewhat resembling Yorkshire pudding, a large lump of ice in the jar of water, a dish of yaourt, a bunch of grapes, and afterwards a caimac (cream) ice. The ice would not be exactly to our taste; it was their cream, iced; all was excellent; a common field labourer might, if he chose so to spend his money, have had four such meals a day for his day's wages; the charge was as follows:—

	Paras.
Ice for water	5
Kebab and yufka	25
Youart	30
Grapes	5
Cream ice	20
	85

That is, two piastres and five paras, about $4\frac{1}{2}d$. The field labourers were then receiving from 8 to 10 piastres a day. They have tobacco at $2d$ per lb. instead of the $8s$ that our labouring classes pay; coffee and sugar, if they like, at a lower rate, though they come from our colonies, while the luxuries, within reach of the wealthy only with us, are open to all; to say nothing of luxuries which no European monarch knows, in the bath, shampooing, and the courtesies of common life.

When assailed by such expressions as, "Oh, that this country were in your hands!" "What would this country be in the hands of the French or English!" I have contented myself with instancing my bill of

fare at Magnesia, and mentioning the price of bread and the amount of wages in England and France; and I have found that little round of statistics to produce a considerable effect in clearing the political atmosphere.

In the morning it rained, but the day having cleared up, I ventured to sally forth for the castle, the horses to wait at the bridge. I descended to the hollow of the stream, saw the bridge higher up the valley, but in passing near the castle, that is as near as one could to a building on a cliff 400 feet high, I perceived that it was modern; there was no inferior layer of huge stones, the tower and arches of the interior were exposed, and looked so middle-age-like that I wavered.

However, after crossing the bridge, I tied my horse to a tree, and proceeded on foot, taking the path which wound round the back or the west of the cliff. When I reached the summit, a mass of black clouds greeted me with some drops of rain, so I beat a hurried retreat. We travelled over the hills that form the cup of the Merj to its northern extremity, where is situated the village of Jedeidé; the rain being heavy, we attempted to gain admittance, but were everywhere repulsed; and as it was but two hours to Hashbaya we shook off the mud against the inhospitable place; and, leaving the cup of the Merj, we descended into a pretty valley, through which the water flows to the south into the Jordan, finding its way to the east of the Merj, as the Thany does

to the west. By the water stood a handsome khan, but now in ruins; we followed the course of the water for three or four miles, then struck into the hills on the right, scrambling among rocks and olive trees till we got right between the cheeks of two hills; we reached Hashbaya as it fell dark. The rain tells its tale upon these towns and villages, and this one was nestled among rocks; it was hard work to get to "the serai," the walls of which looked indeed imposing in the gloom. I was surrounded by a number of idlers, who speculated much on my original nature, whilst I sent up to the Emir to say that a stranger asked for hospitality. I had a Buyourdi from the Pasha, but I did not choose to use it. As the servant was long in returning, I felt rather uncertain as to how I was to pass the night. I wronged however the Arab in his nature; the answer came that he was unwell, and had leeches on, but that he had ordered an apartment to be prepared. Immediately on entering supper was served. It was homely but abundant; it was real hospitality that looked to the hunger, not the daintiness of the guest. Soon, however, a message was brought by a superior officer, in a different tone, praying excuses. This personage's report seemed to have been favourable, and brought the son of the Emir again to apologise; forcing on me the place of honour, and saluting after the coffee. The room then filled with the gentry of the place, to the number of thirty; among whom were two other sons of the Emir, handsome boys, whilst the eldest, about twenty, filled his

father's place with the tact of age and the sprightliness of youth. He begged me to abstain from the, no doubt onerous, ceremonial; but I felt it my duty to make a sacrifice, in consideration that I had to redeem the shortcomings of other travellers, who may have all the good will possible, but who do not know how.

They were much excited about the census, and dreaded to be taken as soldiers; they had the most extravagant and absurd notions on the subject; and I was requested, after correcting a few mistakes, to explain the matter to them. Having done so, they expressed themselves well satisfied, and only feared that it might fail in execution.

As I had expressed a wish to go to the bath, the young Emir told me he had ordered it to be got ready; and saying he did not wish to oppress me that night, "asked leave," and his troop, including all ages from ten to ninety, rose simultaneously and hurried, as is their wont, from the apartment, not to give the trouble of standing to return their salutation.

Adventitious circumstances might account elsewhere for amiable hospitality; here there was none: what then changed a shelter and a supper, into a reception? There was Lady Hester Stanhope, eccentric, if not more, without knowledge of the Arabic, with very slender means, yet she possessed in this country control over its princes and people, which made her be treated almost on a footing of equality, by the rulers of the land. But it must not

be supposed that it is a light thing to acquire this power: to learn manners, is not easy for the grown man. Lady Mary Wortley Montague seems to have had an intuitive gift, Lady Hester Stanhope great originality, and the experience of the best times and society of Europe. Sir John McNeil had an analytical mind; Mr. Lane microscopic observation, and laborious perseverance. These are the only persons belonging to our country, of whom I have knowledge, who have possessed that key in the East "to the hearts of men" which Bacon commemorates; yet may it be attained by ordinary persons: on two conditions however. Speaking as I do from my own experience, I have confidence in announcing them:—first, unreasoning study; and afterwards assiduous care. Once fail and the jar is broken; fail in one item, and the rest goes for nothing. The requisites are constant study of persons, appreciation of their character and position, exact memory, and a sense of this as the thing of major and paramount importance. Once entered upon this course, it increases the interest of mere travel, just as the knowledge of geology does of scenery; independently of the chances of finding mines of gold and treasures of gems, in the mud trodden by others under foot.

England has been peculiarly fortunate in this line. I cannot recall to mind one single person belonging to the continent of Europe who has at all ventured upon it. I know indeed of the existence of one

Frenchman, though I am not acquainted with his name; nor has he left behind him any thing tangible or permanent, save the impressions of himself. I learnt the circumstance in so interesting a manner, and it is so illustrative of what I have engaged to describe, that I will record it.

Some years ago at a dinner in London the following anecdote was told :—

The embassy of General Gardanne, which was to prepare Persia to unite with France for the invasion of India, must have been composed with equal care in the selection of the persons as with magnificence in the numbers of which it was composed, their rank, and expenditure. The peculiar talent of Napoleon was judgment of men : he had himself in the East imitated Alexander in his assumption of Persian manners. If anything could have contributed to the success of his Indian scheme, it was the character of the men so chosen, and nothing more than the choice he made could afford the test of his powers. Well, this embassy miserably failed, and with it the Indian expedition. Of all the pre-eminent men whom it included, not a trace remains in Persia, while the name of a second Lieutenant of Engineers has survived, and will survive for centuries.

The incident had been quoted to shew that the Persians could discriminate as to the man, and disregard the station; but as the narrative proceeded, another of the guests, beside whom I was

seated, continued to whisper, "How extraordinary!" When the narrator had concluded, taking up the thread, the other continued in these terms: "When the embassy returned, my brother was in Spain (such is my recollection), and it repaired thither, as I did also. He himself saw, and questioned every member of that embassy, being excessively incensed at its failure. I had just arrived, and speaking of it, he said to me, "In that embassy there is but one man," mentioning his name, "I shall make him soon, if he stands the test, a marshal of France." To the inquiry, "What has become of him?"—the Prince of Canino answered, "He was killed that night."

It is thirteen years since this conversation occurred. I may not be precise in some of the incidents, but the substance is there, and the reflection to which it gave rise, and to which I gave utterance at the time, was, that the genius of Napoleon in its highest exercise was but a return to, and a concurrence with, the simplicity of nature, as still found undisturbed in the peasant of the East, a polished but unlettered man.

Here the door stands ever wide; all classes mix together. Were there, as with us, distinctions of grade according to politeness, they would soon settle by this free intercourse to the lowest level; but as all are equally polished, by politeness, not by doors and walls, the grades of society are preserved. With our manners, this country would sink into the

veriest kennel, or they would of necessity be forced to adopt, as we have done, seclusion; converting one people into a variety of reciprocally unknown and mutually hating races. Johnson has not admitted the word civilization into his Dictionary of the English tongue: we know from Boswell that he abhorred it; first, because it was a nonentity; and secondly, because it was a false substitute for civility.

To a European, the forms of this country are an intolerable burden; to an Eastern, the habits of ours are sometimes peculiarly attractive when least capable of extenuation. I one day heard Emin Effendi, after some domestic annoyance, holding forth to Izzet Pasha on that admirable part of European society—*servants*. He expatiated on their docility, alertness, dexterity; contrasting therewith the stubbornness, loquacity, and impudence of Turkish retainers. Above all, he was in extasy at the ease with which they could be got rid of. Having overheard all this unobserved, and enjoying the grave face with which the Pasha took it in, I entered, as a bull a china shop. Poor Emin Effendi was presently picking up, and trying to fit his broken crockery, to the great amusement of the Pasha, who had been very unwilling to believe, though unable to gainsay. A word attributed to the Duke of Wellington, on the occasion of some apprehended insurrection, proved a sledge-hammer in this onslaught, "Nowadays, no gentleman can trust his butler."

As I concluded writing the foregoing sentence, the Emir, unannounced and unattended, lifted the curtain, and entered. I recognised him by the likeness to his son. He attempted to treat me as his son had done. I was giving utterance to my embarrassment and shame by his treating me above my deserts, when he pointed to the maps and books around me, and said, "What are we, ignorant men, before you, who are endowed with science, and who honour us by visiting us in our rocks and dens." "I wish," I answered, "that you had some of our science, but much more, that we had somewhat of yonr ignorance. Twice has the torch of science been held by an Arab hand when the world was dark." "When?" said he. "Once, by the Phœnicians, at the beginning of time; once, by the Saracens, after the old things had passed away." This led to a conversation on Arabic literature, in which two of those present very intelligently took part, and after I had not reluctantly yielded to his request, that I should remain that day with him, the party got up and took their leave.

But it was rather with me that he spent the day; for the meetings and meals were in the apartment allotted to me, and the servants came to me for orders; and, when I declined, would take no refusal —the Emir was nobody. It was the story of the entranced beggar of the Arabian Nights.

I was too much interested and occupied with the family, which in numbers is truly patriarchal— though the attendants took care to tell me that the

Emir had but one wife—with the cousins, and the still young generation, of which there were two, all glittering in gold coin, ornaments and jewels, to ask for those things which chiefly interest travellers; and, unless I had been told of and taken to see it, I should have missed the finest piece of ornamental arabesque that I have yet seen; and still more remarkable in its emblematic than in its architectural character. It was not a ruin of the times of the Kaliffs, and owned no Abbaside, no Omniade, no Fatimite for its author. It was part of the dwelling of the present family, constructed by the great-grand-uncle of the present Emir, 75 years ago, and still used by them.

The serai is grandiose, but built upon or repaired with mean workmanship. The courts are filthy; the walls dilapidated. As the young Emir conducted me up some flights of stairs, I was little prepared in coming upon the roof, to behold what appeared a portal only. There was no opening; an arch with a flat wall beyond. The arch Saracenic, and the whole in encrusted marble or wrought stone of the variegated hues of the Mountain, all complete and exquisite. My conductor said, "There is nothing false here," meaning no plaster or paint. The first impression is that it must be painted, so much care has been taken in selecting the stones of uniform and bright colours.

How shall I describe it? It was neither a hall, a façade, a tower, nor a gateway. It was a marble imitation of one of those gorgeous tents of the time

of Soliman the Magnificent, which I have seen at Constantinople, with a back and scroll roof only, to be placed on some eminence commanding a prospect, and where for an hour shade was required.

The roof on which we stood was an oblong, parapetted round; at one of the narrower ends, the wall rose about 50 feet, the width being about the same. In the thickness of this wall there was a horse-shoe arch occupied below by a divan, and steps ascending to it. At the sides were two recesses with windows, and a small staircase leading up to chambers constructed in the wall. There is a hollow left in the mouldings of the inner arch, with a round orifice at each spring, which they told me gave an agreeable echo when music was played in front. It was the gate of the city reared on a terrace, the place of meeting for the Elders, the seat of justice, in a word "*the Porte.*"

Afterwards the young Emir came to sup with me, and I told him that I admired "the room," as he called it, more since I did not see it than when I did; then I only saw its stones, now I read its poetry. This I had to explain by "the Elders sitting at the Gate," "the Golden Gate," &c. typifying the two great virtues of Hospitality and Justice. That the idea of constructing an apartment in that form, consecrating to it all that was capable of being ornamental, executing it with such taste, and placing it so under the heavens, gave me the history and character of his great-grand-uncle, just as Ibtedee

gave me that of Emir Beshir. He answered, "You are right. He was a just and a hospitable man and a great governor; he was chief of all this country till Emir Jusuff, the uncle of Emir Beshir, killed him and reigned in his stead." I inquired how Emir Beshir had not come to see this "gate" before he built his Palace. He told me that he had come, but could not find workmen to make the like; but that part of the palace of Ibtedeen is a copy of this. So far it is true, for the inner entrance is copied from it, only it is such a copy as such a man would make.

This place contains 1200 houses. The only industry in the Charchee was silk winding and dyeing. Formerly, there were many looms for Kefiehs, and silk and cotton stuffs, which now they receive from Damascus; which, too, within the last ten years has fallen off to the amount of two-thirds of its looms. French silk, and English cotton imitations, supplying the place. The Charchee, poor as it was, offered resources to one in want of necessaries for the road. It is formed of a series of arches, as if a colonnade were divided off into shops. There are here five populations, and there is a village near of Nussarieh (Nosairi). I asked the young Emir if he would not like to visit Europe. His younger brother interposed, "You take all our money, and we have none left to enable us to go to visit you." The idea so prevalent on the continent of Europe, of the oppression of England's commerce, I find every

where here, and with reason. The people, attracted to the shops by gaudy colours and apparent cheapness, lose their taste and their money; their costume is tampered with, their habits of industry destroyed. Instead of converting on the spot their cotton and silk into stuffs, occupying thereby their leisure hours, and thus clothing themselves at *no cost*, except dye stuffs and the machinery; they go to market with so much more raw material; whilst the spare time becomes worse than spare. I will cite one instance, close to Smyrna, and within the range of the observations of Europeans, Magnesia. Every class there complained of decay. It was not the Government; there were no new abuses; on the contrary they were better off. It was not new taxes; on the contrary, they paid less. But formerly there were in the houses of the town and the villages round, 14,000 looms; now there are not 200. What in such a state of things must be the result of a tariff which establishes a distinction between exportation and importation, to discourage the first and to encourage the second; sinking the first with prohibitory duties, and leaving on the other duties, such as in Europe would be considered to constitute an entirely free and untaxed trade.

I was here interrupted, perhaps fortunately, for the subject is one which hourly weighs upon me, by the entrance of the Emirs and Sheiks. It was the second son who to-night led the cortege, which was twice as numerous as on the former occasion. After

the divans were filled, the floor was occupied, and there appeared a throng outside. The second son is the flower of the family. It was he who in the morning had spoken of the drain on the country by our trade. He now led the conversation up the rugged steeps of political economy; then went to Egypt for illustration of evil measures; thence to Algiers, inquiring what chance the French had of maintaining their ground; and entering on the other topics, which the name of that place suggests to every true Mussulman. Then came the affair of the Hungarians. In answer to their questions, I asked whether they thought the Sultan ought to give up the refugees or go to war? They said, he should not give up the refugees. I inquired whether they were all of that mind. They all agreed. I then asked if they would have been ready to fight had there been the necessity, to which they all assented: I then told them that the matter was settled by the Sultan's refusing to give them up, and without fighting, because they were all of that mind. I then said that I would tell them what the Sultan had said when first informed that such a demand was to be made. They all bent forward; and when they had heard the words, a burst of admiration followed, and they re-echoed the last sentence, "Sooner let the Empire perish."

Dec. 15*th.*—Last night I was lulled to sleep by the tinkling of the Aoud, and the choruses of voices which at times drowned it. Before the music began,

there had been a loud reciting of prayer, so that this family is Mussulman! I heard the most excellent character of the Emir in as far as I could make inquiries, and I wish Turkey had a thousand such. Here is a case of the Porte, clothing with its authority the feudal chief, without having destroyed the invisible but all powerful restraint of old manners; which does not appear in books, and is not comprehended by philosophers, but which has been in all time the prop and stay of those societies who have been great without laws, and just without philosophy.

Hashbaya pays 150,000 piastres per annum. There are 600 houses of Christians, and 100 Jews, who besides pay charatch, which may amount to 20,000 piastres more; which would give an average a little above £1 per fire.

This morning I left by sunrise, and without seeing any of the family; we descended to the Waddy Teïm, and worked our way to the northward. The valley is separated from the Bkkaa by a narrow ridge or hogs-back, a miniature in the style of the Lebanon. We reached in six hours its watershed at a village called Maïté. The country had just assumed a singular aspect. A burst of volcanic matter had come up to the surface which, peeling like onions, left rounded masses, which were picked off, to leave parts fit for culture; and instead of being built in walls to support the earth, were laid in heaps. The land had recently been sown, and

was a light green; the stones were grey or brown with a tinge of purple. To the left, the limestone assumed the appearance of little pinnacles, and being just ploughed all round, the dark reddish brown earth appeared, making a sort of chintz pattern with the grey. There were clouds passing over, and the dark spots so shadowed, looked black. The whole was indistinct and gloomy. On attaining the elevation of the village a change came over the prospect. The hills were earth, and so steep as to be nearly bare of verdure. The colour was light, in parts quite white; the green of the new sown fields was pale, the rest was stone colour, or pink, very pale. The sky, deep over head, was, towards the horizon, as pale and transparent a blue as were the fields a green. The sun behind us shone out and made the landscape shine with the splendour of a first coating of light colour laid on the canvass. At this village the people were loud in their complaints. There were about 20 houses remaining from more than double the number. They had hitherto paid 6000 piastres, besides corn, and 12,000 were now demanded. They were besides in debt, and the people had fled, some to Hasbaya, some to the Hauran. They were under Mustafa Bey, the Mutzelim of the Bkkaa, whose district extends 10 hours by 6, and comprehends 50 villages and 20,000 souls.

They gave us excellent grapes, which they told us were the last. They were brought from a village half an hour distant called Raket; but I should have

thought it was vintage time. I met not less than 30 asses, carrying loads of grapes, or going with boxes for them. Some one has said, that no one for the last time performs the most insignificant act without pain. I ate these grapes, which by their account was to be the last for the year, with infinite pleasure.

In three hours more I reached Hammara. It was a little off the road on the right, and a little before a break in the Jebel Arbi shewed me the Bkkaa. On reaching the village, I had a view of it spreading before me, right into the roots of the Sonin; whose summit, like a succession of waves, and whose side, like a congregation of pyramids, or mamelons, was covered with snow; as also Gebel Hirmel farther still to the north. The evening was bright but cold, and I anticipated a piercing day on the morrow in crossing the range. Opposite Hammara was Aité, where the pottery is made, in the same range as the vine-growing villages, and along the circle of hills of aluminous shale. This is the third time that I have fallen on the name of the Hittites, and left in a manner which marks an expelled people seeking refuge. The name would descend from the race to the spot, and the title of the nation become the name of the village.

I reached the village alone, and wandering through its dilapidated walls in search not of a hostelrie but of a host, I heard shouts in Turkish of "this way! this way!" and turning to the voice, saw on a roof an

old man with flowing white beard, enormous white turban, and wrapped in a white abbas; the very impersonation of winter, waving me with the cheerfulness of summer, the way to the entrance of his house. Having reached the terrace, he spread out a corner of his abbas for me to sit on, called for coffee and nargillé, and, patting me on the back, asked me in broken Turkish, where I should have been by this time if he had not called to me. On finding out that I was a Frank, he said, "This country was yours (referring to the Crusades) before; it is now mine, and so it is yours again." A blazing fire was not an unwelcome sight, and we sat chatting as best we might, till supper arrived. I had begun to study Arabic, and having thus got a small stock of words, he was able to add to their number, and volunteered, if I would stay with him fifteen days, to make me pass current without interpreter. Supper was brought for me alone, he having vanished; but on my sending to say he had carried off my appetite, he returned with it.

He confirmed all I had heard at Maité, and described this village as in the same condition. Last year more grain had been exacted than was gathered; they had borrowed up to 40,000 piastres to meet the demand. Many had fled; their fields were uncultivated, and he did not know what was to be done. They had petitioned to be included in the Messaa, and he, for presenting the petition, had been thrown into prison; the Sultan wished well to them

and sent orders; but he must send men. He told me, however, that Mustafa Bey had been changed, and another appointed in his place; whom I should meet at the first village I should pass through to-morrow morning.

We were up before the bay broke, and with the first dawn were setting forth, as we had slept in a sort of outhouse, without disturbing the slumbers of my host. The Sheik heard us get up, and insisted on making coffee himself, which he brought me after I had got on horseback. The Bkkaa now opened before us as we advanced slanting into it; but I was abstracted from the earth by the heavens. The fore-foot of the Anti-Lebanon shut out the eastern horizon on the left; but over it, as the day broke, the clouds became of that red fiery glow which indicates the spot of a large conflagration. They then appeared as if they were the smoke issuing from a volcano, or rather the eruption ascending and scattering on both sides. This was but the accidental distribution of the clouds, standing like a tree on the eastern side, and lighted from below. But to the west a coincident phenomenon, the converse of that I have before described of a rising sun at sunset, appeared. To the point opposite the sun the rays converged, as if they emanated from him, covering the heavens with alternate streaks of pink and blue, with an interval of purple. It reminded me of the Aurora Borealis; with the difference that the colour was permanent, and not by vibration; and that, in-

stead of one colour three were intermixed. Before me were the two long hog-back mountains, Sonin and Jurd, with their bristly backs covered with snow. The first, sloping more to the west, was cold, and its white serrated crest was thrown out by the illuminated sky; but Jurd, facing the east, was dappled with the rosy fingers of morn even before the sun himself appeared on the scene. He came not to embellish. As I watched one part of the heavens, the tints disappeared; I turned to another, the radiation had vanished. The picture lasted about a quarter of an hour, and was succeeded by one of the most common place and dismal of sunrises, the heavens being shrouded in mist, which indeed was thin and high, and which lasted all the day. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, from the top of the Lebanon, I again observed the phenomenon of a double radiation, which I attributed to the elevation on which I stood, producing the same effect as that of the sun dipping behind the horizon.

Two hours brought me to Bir Elias (fountain of Elijah), on the extremity of the ridge of Arbi, which separates the valley I have been travelling in from the Bkkaa. On an eminence overhanging it stood a ruin, which I imagined must be part of a temple, formed of large blocks. This supposition was soon confirmed by fragments of cornices and marble columns of enormous dimensions, which had rolled down; one of them was five feet in diameter. I should not have failed to visit it, but that I was

pressing on to cross the Lebanon, having been told that it was impassable in rain and for some days after it; we had had fine weather the last few days, and it seemed now on the change.

The Bkkaa looks like a lake, and the mountains seem to rise from the water. An outlyer of the Arbi before me, seemed the stern of a foundering vessel; the parallel layers of the limestone imitating in their dip the lines of a ship's sheer, those of the escarpment gave the transom and stern. The plain is rich alluvial soil, which seems to have been originally deposited 20 or 30 feet higher, from hillocks left here and there, as if the remainder had been washed away by some cataclysm. As we opened upon it, stretching far north and south, unbroken by hedge, ditch or tree, with the Sonin on the other side ascending to its snowy ridge by a succession of pyramids, I acknowledged it as one of the kindliest works of nature, and one of the most desirable of the habitations of man. This was the Cœlo-Syria of the ancients, which they enjoyed, celebrated, and adorned. The circumstances I have adverted to, of a removal of the surface of the soil to the extent of at least 20 feet, may account for its being destitute of traces of ancient cities. Those which subsist, as Baalbec, are on the rising ground and higher up, where the rush of waters had less power. The smoke rose not through the heavy air, and from each of the villages spread to leeward a long line of pale blue, which appeared like so many lakes. At the corner of

Gebel Arbi we met the head of a caravan, which could be traced in a long line half across the plain. They were going to Damascus. I was wonderfully tempted to turn my horse's head in the same direction, and sat for a few minutes irresolute, till the reflection that a fall of snow might shut me up for a month or more, decided me to continue my course; not, however, without the sense of a cat's back stroked the wrong way, as each mule paced by me, or camel's heads surged in the opposite direction. Then I thought that at least I might strike up the Bkkaa and visit Baalbec, which was not twenty miles off; but the suggestion was overruled, and I proceeded, tenax propositi, not having been directed by the sortes Virgilianæ, but by the Horatian verse—when, lo! on the elevated crown of a field, not a hundred yards distant, stood a real *Maurus;* he had no javelin, but a long carbine slung over his shoulder, and was mounted on a white charger, whose forefeet rested on the top of the mound. The Moor wore a red bournous and a dark kefieh wrapped round the head, with a heavy blue tassel to his cap; and as he stood against the sky, was a figure to make a tyro pull out the pencil, and a Bellini throw away his brush. The Moor was evidently watching me; when I came abreast of him he hailed me; but it was not to send me to Damascus or Baalbec, but only to inquire if I had seen or heard of Mustafa the Mutzellim, for whom he was on the watch.

On the first rise of the Gebel Sonin across the plain, appeared an important town which I took for Zacklé. Two hours at a good pace brought us to it, passing a large village on the western side of the river. But the town, as we approached, descended also to a village, which we reached through groves of mulberry trees, poplars, and willows; water gushing in all directions, accompanied by the drone of the horizontal mill. This was Mallacca; but Zacklé was in the gorge within; and we reached it in a quarter of an hour, terraced around and perched on both sides of the broken brows overhanging the winding course of a mountain torrent. The bottom was planted thick with poplars, and the terraces above seemed chiefly devoted to the vine. We were welcomed with the brazen tones of the horn from across the gully, where were pitched some green tents of the Nizam; and by the clangour of not very harmonious bells, from the principal body of the place, which swept in a theatre before us to the right.

Zacklé has a style of its own. The limestone blocks here give place, in a great degree, to clay-plastered walls, which, from the contrast, were very comfortable to look at. The tops of the houses, instead of being flush like a box or a cube, had a ledge or projection all round, which, while adding to the air of comfort, improved the picturesque.

I had been directed to a Sheik; but, after with great difficulty finding the house, he was absent.

I suppose I spent an hour in getting a place at which to rest, which I did ultimately at the abode of the agent of Emir Hydar, Caimacan of the Maronites, who gave me coffee and nargillé, and breakfast, and a man to set me on my way. I have been in many filthy and miry places, but never in such a one as this. You plash all the way where you do not stumble, through a channel of mire up to the horse's knees. There are raised trottoirs at the side, which necessity has put them on inventing, on which you see the foot-passengers pushing their precarious way along, holding by the houses or by one another. They have another invention which adds to the burlesqué. They do not walk about in boots or shoes, or even galoshes, but on high wooden pattens, such as are worn in the bath or by the women in the lower parts of the houses. These they slip on without shoes over their mests, or leathern mittens for the foot, so that they are ready to step on the seat of a shop or into a room without pulling off boots or shoes. Notwithstanding the mire, I liked the place. There was an activity of life, that contrasted with the congregation of tombs I had lately been hearing called by the names of cities and villages. Every open door exhibited some work in progress—the anvil, the loom, the distaff. There was an abundant supply of all necessaries and luxuries. Magnificent sheep hung in the shambles, gigantic cabbages and grapes, large, clear, and clean, as if just selected from the vintage, or gathered from

a canvass of Van Eke. The people, too, were a fine race. I had from Skiff observed the blue bands on the heads of the women; very generally the kefieh on that of the men; if not entirely blue it was blue mixed with white, or white and red. Sometimes you saw men and women entirely in blue from head to foot; and the other colours, when used, were white and red. The blue was the "true blue," that rich colour, brilliant in its depth, so difficult to hit on, so beautiful when obtained, that the highest of epithets is appended to it. We at least do not speak of "true yellow" or "true red." There was here none of the miserable purple by which lowland and Saxon dyers have polluted our tartans. I was not here precisely in Judea; Dan itself was beyond the opposite mountains. But there was no mistaking here the law of Horeb, and the strife of the children of Heber and Saba; both by the blue that they knew how to dye, and the yellow that they choose not to wear—even to this day.

CHAPTER X.

THE HOUSE AND THE HOUSEHOLD.

FROM Zacklé the ascent of the Lebanon is in a south-westerly direction, so that I made a bend round. I had hurried on in the morning in order to get over this day, and leaving Zacklé an hour before midday, that is with six hours daylight before me, I thought I had ample time for an ascent of eight or nine miles, which I proposed to attempt on foot.

The day was exactly fitted for such a walk; clouded, but the clouds high, so as not to intercept the view; nor can I call it clouded, there was a thin and lofty canopy of haze. As we ascended, the Anti-Lebanon, on the other side of the Bkkaa, seemed also to ascend. Its level summit, as far as it could be seen up the valley to the north, being covered with snow, which, skipping over a depressed portion of the chain immediately opposite, lay thickly on Gebel Sheik; which looked from here like a depressed Mount Blanc. As we approached the region of snow, its scent came towards us without its chill. The day was like a May day with us, in the plain

below it was July. I loitered from headland to headland, and reluctantly quitted a brow where I had sat down. A muleteer, who saw my disinclination to depart, described the scene as I could not. "It opens," said he, "the heart." This is the season for travelling in this country. In summer there would be the overpowering heat; the verdure would have vanished from the plains, the snow from the mountains. All those contrasts which occupy, and those effects which charm at present, could not be so much as imagined. There is indeed the inconvenience of a storm, but that is of little moment; at least I have found it so, and, excepting on such occasions, it is summer weather you enjoy. As I sat down on the cliff, which I had so little inclination to leave, everything breathed of summer. The work in the fields, the tinkling of the bells of the browsing goats, the song of girls and women, as in thick succession, the groups appeared scrambling up or springing down the precipices; for the road during the early part of the day was thronged with people and mules. And lastly, to crown the image of summer, I stopped a mule laden with grapes, and got such a bunch as Joshua may have carried to Moses, as a specimen of the chosen land. It is only in winter that the colouring of the earth and rocks can be observed with advantage. This is the sowing time, so the fields being turned up you see the true colour of the earth. The fields already sown

are covered with a sea-green verdure, which brings them out. Here, in the rocks, you look for the same varieties of hue as elsewhere in the heavens; there is, with the exception of blue, all the tints of the rainbow, and any piece of landscape would require at least 12,000 out of the 18,000 tints and shades used in mosaic work. Imagine a field of realger, and a rock beside it of orpiment, and then a gully of lake, and then a falaise of gamboge.

The summit of the pass was so sharp, that as you turned away from the Bkkaa you came in sight of the sea. But, from the haze, the line of the horizon was indistinct, and could not be made out; so the impression was of a sudden falling away of the earth. Towards the summit, the sandstone in juxtaposition with the lava was burnt and scorched; there were fragments resembling scoria, also a puddingstone, and under the sandstone, the coarse oolite I had observed at Gebel Rehan. The snow powdered on these formations, brought out the parallel lines. A crest to the south of us, shewed its cuttings so distinctly, that it looked like a mould of differently coloured jellies. Soon after crossing the summit we came among the grey limestock rock, but in a new fashion; a sheet of it below me, lying horizontally and about ten feet in thickness, was broken off at right angles so as to look like the spiculæ of an artichoke, laid layer above layer. The imagination may build up the sort of cliffs, precipices and gorges, 1500 feet thick, through which

we had to descend. The fragments, moderate as rocks, always called up the idea of human builders of the Titan and Cyclopic breed. There was sometimes levels of these lines stretching beyond one another, and seen through the gaps and interstices of the first; or there were solitary fragments left standing like columns. On the opposite hill, the ledges stretched far away, and on them might be traced here and there the picturesque cottages, with projecting eaves, something resembling those of Switzerland.

From a dilapidated slope of this wreck, we dived through a steep sort of staircase into a narrow gorge, which, winding to the west, soon afforded a prospect of escape; the view was, however, bounded by a dark field of pines, the edge presenting against the horizon a regular fringe, from the bush of the tree being at the top of the lofty stem. There was a stream at the bottom of the gully on our right, dancing by a succession of waterfalls over the ledges; it could not have taken less than a hundred leaps to reach the bottom. I counted thirty at once in sight. The night was fast closing in, the grey horror of the rocks had not been enlivened by one playful ray; the grey gloom of the heavens sent back the eye to the indistinct chaos around. The day, unlike her wont, put on no dress, decked herself with no gems for her evening guests, but in russet went to bed; and we saw before us indistinctly, the cattle returning to the village, as if shadows cast on the face

of the rocks. Suddenly on turning a sharp angle, we distinguished the lines of houses against the sky, crowning a theatre of terraces of the mulberry.

This village of Antoura was dignified by a building resembling the acropolis of an Hellenic fortress, it was the church; but the promise was not kept. I found the men and baggage-horses wandering about, finding no place where to lay their heads. After continuing the search half an hour, and being warned everywhere that the people were "*hot*," meaning had got the fever, a well dressed and portly person got up on a wall, and saying, "Fadda,"—I accepted the invitation, and ascended by a ladder to a room just finished on the top of the house: it was absolutely bare walls. Fire was ordered; I expected to see a mangal brought in. They had no idea of the sort. I was asked where the fire was to be, and on indicating the spot, a basket of earth was tumbled down; live embers were then brought, over that a basket of *black* charcoal; then some blocks of mulberry, the nicest of all woods to burn, especially in a close apartment, as it makes no smoke. I recollected the fire in the tent of cork in Morocco; but that was a flame only, issuing from a black, unglowing mass; here was a real fire, with its white heat and glowing embers; the flame was like that of spirits, and the little smoke there was resembled vapour. Scarcely were we established, when the rain and wind assailed our exposed apartment in such a manner as to be very

uncomfortable, and somewhat dangerous. With baskets of clay and cow dung, I managed to close up the door and other openings, leaving only a window to leeward, and a ladder for access.

I have spoken of the mangal. It is not only a most important, but also a remarkably handsome piece of Oriental furniture. It is a brazier for charcoal, which can be used with advantage for heating rooms only as follows. There must be a mass of ashes, and that mass must have an extent of surface; for otherwise, the burning embers cannot be kept long, and do not allow of the heat being suddenly raised at pleasure. The charcoal is first lighted in an open iron case, placed in the wind, or rapidly fanned till every part is thoroughly red, and the disappearance of the blue flame has shewn that the carbonic acid gas has made its escape. The hot coals are then carried to the mangal, and buried in the bed of ashes, where they may lie snug and hot for four and twenty hours, or suddenly pour out their heat upon the room if you choose to rake them up with the pincers. The mangal, in an establishment of distinction, is a vessel of brass, highly ornamented. There are some splendid specimens amongst the Cufic remains. It is of an ornamented figure, round, oval, square, or approaching to these forms; about 3 feet in diameter, standing about a foot from the ground, with short legs, and on the top a broad border all round: it is placed in the centre of the room. If I were to go on, dealing with the matters

here involved; such as the use and saving of fuel, its economic application for warming houses, the preparation of the body in reference to alternations of heat and cold, the part therein played by the condition of the skin, and the character of the clothing, the use of the different degrees of intensity of fuel in reference to cooking, and finally, the impossibility of the co-existence of open fire-places and healthy lungs, and of open coal fires and the science of cookery, I should indeed be engaged in writing a book, but it would not be on the Lebanon.

In Antoura, each person seemed accustomed to the pantomime of the thumb and forefinger. I will do them the justice, however, to say, that whenever I pronounced in reply the word "Nazarāne," they slunk off, as if preserving some sense of shame. The Druzes do not beg. Among the race of mendicants there was an exception: a boy, all in rags, who brought the clay, did not beg, and refused the bakshish I offered. I asked if he was cold; what his father was; what work he did: to which he answered haughtily and successively, "No—why?" "My father and mother are dead—why?" "I carry earth—why?" and then ran away. Here was a spirit that, not brooking pity fled even from pay, not charity.

After a good supper, I lay down quite exhausted, expecting a refreshing night; but over fatigue dispelled sleep, and a nuit blanche made a blank day of December 16th.

I was haunted all night by the face of that boy, and the gesture with which he met my open hand with a piece of money. What was here, never to be known? Was it a Hampden, a Milton, or a Cromwell, or something for which the name yet remains to be found? There must be some equality in the distribution of faculties and characters to the races of the earth. Had I found collected in this urchin, the share of spirit and independence originally allotted for the millions of Syria?

During that day, being unable to move, my pen was busy. The storm had ceased, but it came back again at night. The weather cleared up on the morning of the 17th, and I reluctantly set forth; we were soon drenched to the skin, and took refuge in a village not three miles distant.

Dec. 19*th.*—I have had during these two days an experience such as it falls to the lot of no foreigners travelling in England to obtain; that of dwelling under the roof of the poorest of its inhabitants. Isolated and shut in by the weather, I have lived after their fashion, slept as they sleep, eaten of their fare, heard their story, seen their habits; and acquired a clear and definite idea of their existence, such as I had not obtained during two months spent among them, but not in exclusive contact with the poor.

These villages are restricted in their produce to silk and grapes, there are no fields cultivable in the neighbourhood. They are at a distance from the cities of the coast, and from the plains, so that they

have to pay an additional price, alike for the produce of the country, and for that imported, on account of the English tariff. Thus rice is 25 per cent dearer than at Beyrout; corn 50 per cent dearer than in the Bkkaa. The property chiefly belongs to Emirs, and they are mere farmers. It will be evident that I am not selecting favourable specimens in the families I am going to describe.

Nothing can be simpler than their state. They pay to Government a fixed sum; a fixed sum to the church. They have certain fixed seasons of work and of idleness. They have abundance of substantial food and coarse clothing, but nothing beyond. They have no aspirations or cares. They have little to fear from bad, or to expect from peculiarly favourable seasons. They are good-natured without being hospitable; they are laborious without ingenuity; fair dealing without integrity. You would neither call them light-hearted and gay, nor morose and stupid. Their ideas wander scarcely beyond the limits of their sight; if they are in this respect as low as the European boor, they are, in manners, above the European gentleman.

When I asked them what they did when a quarrel arose; they answered, "The devil made it—God will settle it." When I asked them why they had made the last war; they answered, "Others went and some of us too." When I asked if they hated the Druzes; they answered, "We neither bless them, nor curse them." When I asked if they were content with

being deprived of their arms; they said, "Others are deprived of theirs." As to their general circumstances all they had to say was, that they were better off now, than under Emir Beshir, paid the same in money, but less otherwise.

The house in which I am writing, which is the best in the village, though there is little difference between them, is 25 feet broad, 50 feet long, and 8 high. It is divided into two parts by a mud partition; on one side lives the mother and her younger son, on the other the elder and his newly married wife. It cost 1500 piastres building, and is of rude masonry (this being off the limestone and on the sandstone) of dry stone, plastered within with clay. The roof, the weighty part, is supported by three transverses of trees, a yard in girth, resting in the centre on a column of four stones, one above another. The timber of the roof cost 600 piastres, the wall about 8*d* the square yard. The interior is destitute of all kinds of fittings or furniture; there are no windows or chimneys; a shoulder against the door is composed of reeds and clay, and serves for a cupboard; the mocadé, or low clay fire-place, at the angle of this shoulder, affording a snug corner within for foul weather: in it I am now sitting, writing by the light of a pine-wood fire at 2 o'clock in the day. In the partition there are the bins and jars of various forms and sizes, of clay and chopped straw for dry stores; such as bourgoul, beans, onions, and rice. They are called quarra. For wine,

dibs, oil, and arrack, there are baked jars, of various sizes, and all of Etruscan forms. The small ones with spouts are called *Beul;* the next, without spouts, and with two handles, *Dweik;* the vessels for carrying water, *Jarra;* and the large amphora, capable of holding 20 gallons, *Chabié.* These are made at Bechabel, three hours on the road to Beyrout. This large one cost 13 piastres. A distaff and a spinning-wheel, *Dulab,* composed the utensils of the household, together with the round trays of cow-dung and chopped straw, on which they place the silk worms, *Tibak.* Cookery is carried on by earthen pots with handles, *Cudné,* and small frying pans of the same material with a handle, *Tuclac,* or *Maclè.* Wooden spoons are used for cooking, but not for eating; and when food is brought, it is on a round tray of straw made something like a target, called here, *Sanie.* The nargillé completes the establishment. Coarse mats and sheep-skins are laid on the part occupied by the family; they have a quilting to lie on, and one for covering, with a couple of cushions to offer to a guest; but their own night-clothes seem to be chiefly their capotes.

The dress of the men is the red cap, or tarbuch, round which is wound the kefieh, or the calemkiar; the first is that which the Arabs hang over the head and shoulders, binding it on by a rope, or grummet, of camel's hair; the latter is muslin, which used to be dyed or painted in the houses, in flowers and figures, and which is named after the pen

(Calem). These are now imitated in Europe, and it is the only imitation which has not been prejudicial to the costume of the country. This head-dress, which is neither the naked red cap nor the ponderous turban, is the handsomest I know.

The chief article of dress is the abba, which by the working population is curtailed in all directions, and instead of the slits for the hands at the corners of the large square sack, is fitted with short arms; it is of coarse woollen stuff, hard laid: the woof much thicker than the warp, and having the look of poplin; it is striped white or black, but is sometimes mixed with red and blue and gold and silver thread; it is of beautiful workmanship and of infinite variety.

The jacket has open sleeves, is of camel's hair, brown in colour, and embroidered in blue lace. The inner jacket and long trowsers are of the American coarse unbleached cloth, called Domestic, which they dye blue; the trowsers are of course ample. The The belt is the Scotch imitation shawl of low quality, and the costume is completed by a pair of red shoes of ancient form; the calceus of the Romans, and such as we find in the Lycian tombs, and called *mdass*.

The cap (they have not yet taken to those made at Constantinople and in France, of glaring colour, which may be had down to 3 piastres) costs 25 piastres, and lasts two years. The mandil costs 6 piastres, lasts six months; the kefieh costs 8 piastres, and lasts two years; the abbas costs

15 piastres, and lasts a year; the domir, or jacket of camel's hair, costs 45 piastres, and lasts two years; the meintan and shalvar (jacket and trowsers) costs 35 piastres, and lasts six months; the belt 22 piastres, and lasts two years; the shoes costs 10 piastres, three pairs for the year; also three shirts of Frangi stout cotton at 7 piastres. The dress of my host thus stands him in 200 piastres a year, of which 30 are for shoes.

The women wear, when not the Tantour, a red cap with a half mandil; a veil, *Gatà*, of white cotton, or of mixed silk and cotton, or silk alone, which they make at home, and called *Caz*;* a gown, *embaz*, open in front, with long sleeves, of Frank cotton cloth, dyed blue, and trowsers drawn round the waist and ankle, of the same stuff left white; the shift is of the same stuff as the veil, spun from the refuse silk, and mixed with cotton thread (English twist). The belt is the same as that of the men, and the expense of their dress is equal to that of the men.

They eat twice a day in winter, and three times in summer; one meal is always hot: the chief dish is bourgoul, stewed in fat or oil with onions, and eaten with scons. To this is added lentils, cheese, preserve of grapes, and lebben, fresh or dried. This family consumes 600 okes of wheat for cakes, and 130 okes of bourgoul at 5½ piastres the oke, about 350 piastres a year; 10 rotols of oil at 8 piastres, 80 piastres. The fat of a sheep, and the meat pre-

* Originally from Gaza, our gauze.

served in it, 80 piastres; 50 okes of wine, home made; 30 okes of preserves of grapes, home made; and, having no sheep or cattle, they lay out 40 piastres a year in lebben:

Wheat . . .	350
Oil . . .	80
Fat . . .	80
Wine . . .	30
Preserves . . .	40
Lebben . . .	40
Lentils, &c . . .	40
	660

Say for food 660 piastres; clothing of four persons 800. To this is to be added taxes, which amount to, charatch for two, 40 piastres; other taxes, 75; in all 1575 piastres, or about £15.

Their resources are, two hundred mulberry trees, which produce silk worth 500 piastres; and a vine-yard of two hundred vine-stocks, which gives as much more. They make up the rest by labour in the fields, at three piastres a day; two hands for four months gives 800 piastres. They also plant a little grain or vegetables between the mulberries and the vines, and from these last they get their wine and preserves. They have over 20 pounds of rough silk (bourre de soie) which is spun for clothing, or sold when so spun at 20 piastres the oke. By these means, and probably by a considerable squeezing out in the wear of hosiery, they make both ends meet. Two months is all they expend on their own trees and

vines; and thus the two men by their own confession are absolutely idle six months in the year, and the women are nearly so; for they have here no corn to grind, no webs to weave, no beds to make, nothing but the cakes and bourgoul, which are soon disposed of; the little silk spinning they do is the merest amusement.

With the spare time of men and women, everything they wear might be home made, and one half or more of their yearly outlay saved. They might also have every comfort in their home if they only used the knife as Ulysses was wont to do. They have the materials of life in abundance on the six months labour of the male adults alone; they suffer only from the inconvenience attached to the absence of cleanly habits, which, if they had them, would induce them to bestow a fraction of their unoccupied time in internal arrangements and external conveniences, which would make their dwellings equal in comfort to what their life is in ease.

When I asked them how they could sit and do nothing, the answer was, "We have to attend to the fire;" and no wonder, because they have neither window nor fireplace; they said they had never learnt to cut wood or to weave wool. I pointed out to them the Arab tent, where nothing was spent for what was used or worn; no sense either of cupidity or of shame was awakened by the suggestion, or the reproach; at least there was no answer.

The two products of the country are, silk and

grapes. The mulberry trees are kept small, the branches being cut off at about five feet, so as to keep them within reach; they stand generally about eight feet apart, and when terraced are planted in the wall, leaving the earth free for any other culture. A pair of oxen in half a day turns up the small patch they occupy. They are worth ten piastres, or two shillings a piece to purchase. The seed of the worm for one hundred trees is one and a half thimblefuls, *histban*. The cocoons weigh nine okes; which consist of one oke worms, seven refuse silk, and one spun silk; the latter sells for 110 piastres, the former is carded and spun as wool; unspun it is worth six piastres the oke, spun 20; a woman will spin an oke in their manner in twenty days. They might thus make from the hundred trees 240 piastres; but the spun silk is generally retained for domestic purposes, and from it is made the admirable stuff used for sheeting and shirting before the cheap English and American cottons came in.

The vines are planted exactly as the mulberries, and cultivated in the same manner, only the stems are left long and supported on stakes; the grapes are white, and with a very fine skin. The vineyard furnishes grapes for consumption during five months, besides 40 okes of wine and 30 of dibs. The wine is thick, light coloured, and sweet, resembling must. The grapes are exposed twenty days in the sun, then pressed, and the juice boiled rapidly for an hour; this is the whole process. It is then

put in the large jars, which are hard and strong; the orifice is closed with cow's dung, which is the luting used on all occasions: it will keep for three years. Three okes of grapes make one of wine. It is worth from twenty to thirty paras the oke.

The dibs, the honey of Scripture, which Jacob sent to Joseph, is the inspissated juice of the grape. It is of two sorts, one dark and liquid, resembling molasses, this is the *Racou*; the other is thick, of a yellow brown, and is called dibs (*Jibes*). In every village there is an establishment for making it; some of these bear marks of great antiquity; there are vats for pressing, and troughs cut in the rock for holding the juice, and a furnace for boiling it. The grapes are not trodden by the foot, but laid in a heap and pressed by a beam, of which one end is fixed in the wall and a heavy stone attached to the other; as the oil seems anciently to have been expressed, judging by the relics I observed near Tyre. The juice is then boiled in the iron pan for an hour, then poured back into the trough; after it has cooled, it is again returned into the pan and boiled, if for the racou for three hours, if for jibes four. The process is thus complete for the first; the second is still liquid, and is conveyed home, where during a month it is daily for an hour turned or beaten with a fresh branch of fig-tree or botun. This property of the juice of the fig-tree is curious; anciently it was used instead of rennet, as Athenæus informs us, for making the cheese called *Tromelius*;

it occurred to me that this must be of the nature of yaourt (lebben). I made the experiment, and by turning boiled milk with a fig branch at once obtainad yaourt. I afterwards found that in the island of Scio, when they are in want of the leaven of yaourt, they make use of the same process.* The racou takes four okes of grapes to make one oke; the jibes five: the first is worth 40 paras, and the second 60.

The bourgoul I have often mentioned, without describing the manner of making it, which is as follows: The wheat is boiled for an hour; little water is used; when it is absorbed, more is added; it is then put in the sun to dry, and sent to the mill and crushed; it is sifted to obtain equal fineness; the coarser part is used for the poultry; it is made once a year. This dish stands between couscoussou and pilaff; the first is cooked by mere steaming; the latter by a mixed process of boiling in water and butter; as soon as cooked in the former, the later is poured over it to make it swell.† When I first tasted bourgoul I thought it was cooked in the same manner, but I now find that the process is reversed; the butter or oil (for the latter is used on fast days, of which they have 124 in the year) is first boiled; then the bourgoul is thrown into it

* For yaourt, that most valuable preparation of milk, I must refer the reader to the "Pillars of Hercules," vol. ii.

† The heat of the one is applied at 212, the other at 600 degrees.

and turned in it with a spoon for about a minute, then water is added in sufficient quantity, as in the case of rice, exactly to cook the dish. It is not eaten with a spoon, but with little twisted cornets of the marcook, which you tear like brown paper; it thus resembles the couscoussou, in so far at least as not being eaten with a spoon. To the latter dish I have elsewhere attributed a high antiquity, and derived it from the Holy Land: I have from it inferred that wheat, not known as an indigenous plant, came originally from that country; and also that in borrowing the grain we had failed to copy the methods for cooking it devised by its original possessors. The bourgoul confirms these positions; it ascends to a period prior to the invention of spoons, and the grain is called *Taïm*,* which, throughout the East, stands for rations. The whole grain, without change in its nature, as by fermentation or division of its parts, as by our separation of it into different qualities, is used for food. It has the advantage of being a hot cooked dish, without consuming fire or time; the dish makes the meal, and is ready in ten minutes. It is then eaten with the marcook, also prepared without loss or fermentation; and thus this family sits down daily to a hot meal of wheat, so palatable and satisfying that they neither desire addition nor change. The condiments are two ounces of tallow. They generally, indeed, add the preserve of grapes, and lebben, fresh

* Thence the word Timariot, feudal-chief.

or dried, when it resembles cream cheese a little acidulated. The expense of this family for living I have set down at £6, for four adult persons. Wheat is here 5½ piastres the measure, while it is only 2½ in the Bkkaa. Oil is 5 piastres instead of 4 the oke; so that the charge is greatly above the average. Yet this comes but to 30*s* per head, or 360 pence, so that their diet is obtained for less than one penny a day. It may appear extraordinary that this dish should have escaped the observation of travellers; yet it is easily accounted for. I might have reached thus far without once seeing it, unless I had known it beforehand; and I knew of it merely from the habit of examining the contents of shops. Having seen it in a shop at Beyrout, I ordered it at my hotel. They smiled and looked shy; and positively the order had to be thrice repeated and enforced, before I got it. Everywhere it was the same struggle. That curse of our age, the aping of things from other lands, has made them ashamed of their own dish; besides it costs one-third less than rice. This of course would not have sufficed to keep travellers in ignorance of its existence, but gentlemen travellers, however fond they may be of the kitchen, do not add cookery to their acquirements; and travelling ladies are more given to political than domestic economy.

I had here a practical illustration of the difference of our bread and theirs. I had injured my foot in the passage of the mountain, and found it ne-

cessary to put on a poultice. There being no bread, I folded some of the marcook, strained it, and applied it; when it lay close and clean as if the folds of a cloth. I prepared to change it at the usual time; but instead of the sour disagreeable smell of our bread poultice, it was as fresh as when laid on; I consequently left it, and after the time had elapsed for three changes, and it was no longer wanted, it was still fresh. What must the difference be in the application to the stomach?

I have said that the bourgoul was prepared with tallow; that is rendered mutton fat. When I learned this, I was greatly astonished; for I had been commending the butter which I thought had been used, as particularly free from the generally offensive flavour of that substance in this country. Yet it was tallow all the while, and this let me into an interesting feature of their domestic economy.

In the month of June, they buy from the shepherds, when pasturage has become scarce and sheep are cheap, two or three sheep: these they feed by hand. After they have eaten up the odd grass and other provender about the doors, they get vine leaves, and, after the silk worms have begun to spin, mulberry leaves. They purchase them on trial, and the test is appetite; if a sheep does not feed well, they return it after three days; to increase their appetite they wash them thoroughly twice a day, morning and evening—a care they never bestow on their own bodies. If the sheep's appetite does not come

up to their standard, they use a little gentle violence, folding for them forced-leaf-balls, and introducing them into their mouths. The mulberry has the property of making them fat and tender; at the end of four months the sheep they had bought at 80 piastres, will sell for 140, or will realize, as about to be described, 150.

The sheep is killed, skinned, and hung up. The fat is then removed; the flesh is cut in stripes from the bones and hung up in the sun. Meanwhile, the fat has been put in a cauldron on the fire, and as soon as it has come to boil, the meat is laid in; the proportion of the fat to the meat is as four to ten, eight okes fat and twenty lean: a little salt is added, it is simmered for an hour, and then placed in jars for the use of the family during the year. The larger joints are separated and used first, as not fit for keeping long. The fat with a portion of the lean, chopped fine, is what serves for the cooking the bourgoul. It is called *Dehen*. The sheep are of the fat-tailed variety; and the tails are the great delicacy.

The only thing that remains to speak of, is their religious instruction, if indeed there is anything to say on this score. They have churches; and as they pass them, they go and kiss one of the stones. The ceremonies are gone through by form, and without charge on their consciences or pockets. The only observance I could make out, was of the fast days. Each male from fourteen years, pays to the

priest 10 piastres, and a measure of corn; to the bishop 2 piastres. I have as yet found no schools. On these two points they differ from the Mussulmans, who do not pay for their church and who have schools. The Mussulman besides holds as duties, cleanliness and hospitality; though the idea of cleanliness is, alas, reduced to the existing standard. Often did I wish that Mahomet could come and convert these people (I mean the Mussulmans), for this country might be a Paradise, if they were Mussulmans. Habits of cleanliness would bring habits of industry.

These are minute details, and may appear fatiguing. Yet, of common consent, descriptions of the condition of different nations are desirable. What use in a description, unless it be complete? This country contains the records of the most ancient things. It is so in art, science, institutions, monuments, and races. Why should we not have here also records in regard to those all essential domestic matters, which are the real elements of every state; what is done and left undone, every day, in each cottage; that is, how a people feeds and clothes itself? Doubtless the feeding and the clothing of the people is but idle speculation, if we deal with it simply as a matter of curiosity. But why should we not, on the contrary, deal with it, as a matter of profit and instruction? It is in the nature of man so to do, when man remains as God made him. The contrary is the result of his own inventions.

When I visit a new people, I discover in myself three desires in operation. The desire to obtain enjoyment; the desire to benefit myself from them; the desire to benefit them from anything I know. So affected, whatever I observe that is profitable, I take hold of immediately and make my own. Although I have not found this disposition in my fellow countrymen of Europe, I cannot, on that account, hold myself to be an exception; because I am satisfied that in this, I am acting according to my human nature, and as any child might do, if he could grow into his adult faculties, without those faculties having undergone a change, which, not being reasonable, is not natural. When it has happened to me to explain myself in this fashion, I have been invariably asked for results. It has been said to me, "Well, what have you profited?" or "if you find anything in habits or ideas which you think better than your own, what can that avail you? A single individual cannot make the world to his own liking; he must live and act as others do." Such question and such objection arise only as a justification for negligence, and could never enter into the mind of one who commenced with a desire of benefiting himself.

Here are some instances. I saw water poured over the hands, in lieu of dabbling in dirty water. This, and not the other process, I immediately felt to be in my nature. From that hour it became my practice; never once deviated from, never occa-

sioning me any difficulty, though living in the land of wash-hand basins; my practice being itself totally unknown, except to those to whom I have offered to communicate it.

In like manner I observed shampooing, and have never since failed to have the benefit of it, whether in Europe or in Asia. In like manner, the bath. Here edifices and accompaniments were necessary, not easily transferable; yet without them, I have managed to obtain always its principal effects. I had observed the forms of politeness, which they practise in reference to conversation; such as, not interrupting, not giving an answer (excuse), and never saying to another that which he already knew —I was lifted out of idle disputation, and had my faculties at my disposal, to use with persons belonging to the contrary habits of mind, all unconscious to them. I observed the manner of collecting taxes —I obtained the key to the institutions of my own land. I heard them speak of sin, as connected with war, not lawful—I was instructed in the nature of religion, as controlling societies as well as men; and from Mussulmans, who were unconscious that they taught me, I learned to know Christians, who had ceased to comprehend themselves. I found in one country an admirable method of cooking a very cheap aliment (pilaff)—I obtain its advantage in my own, and have taught many others the like. I found in another country a wonderful manner of preparing another aliment, (couscousson)—I obtain

it from that country, and bring it home to my own. Without multiplying examples, I have this general benefit: I obtain in my own mind elements of comparison, as the result of observing with the view to profit, which serve me at every moment, and with respect to every object; in this fashion. I can place before me any familiar thing, as a strange one to examine; I can find a contrast by which to estimate that which is most common. So that my own country and my own habits are tested, as stranger ones would be; and whilst in the latter, I can separate the good that has to be taken, in the former I can discern the evil that has to be set aside.

END OF VOL. I.

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